

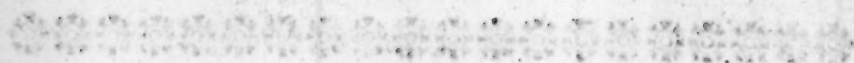


MISCELLANEOUS
P I E C E S
O F
M. D E S E C O N D A T,
BARON D E M O N T E S Q U I E U.



MISCELLANEOUS

P L E C E S



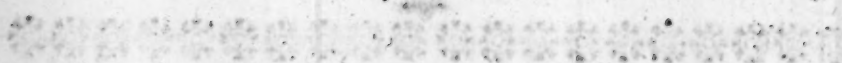
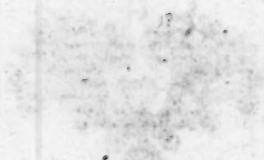
MISCELLANEOUS

P L E C E S



M. DE S. E. G. N. D. A. T.

BARON DE MONTESQUIEU.



L O N D O N

Printed by D. Wilson and T. Dobson
in the Strand

MISCELLANEOUS
PIECES
OF
M. DE SECONDAT,
BARON DE MONTESQUIEU.

TRANSLATED
From the NEW EDITION of his Works in
Quarto printed at PARIS.



LONDON:

Printed for D. WILSON and T. DURHAM,
in the Strand. MDCCCLIX.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADVERTISING P I E C E S

OF

M. DE SECONDAT

BARON DE MONTESQUIEU



L O N D O N

Printed by W. Wilson and T. Durnham,
in the Strand.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Publick is here presented with a Collection of M. *De Montesquieu's* small Pieces, translated into *English* from the last splendid and correct Edition published at *Paris*. They who have Translations of his great Works, on the Spirit of Laws, on the Causes of the Grandeur and Declension of the *Romans*, with his *Persian* Letters, by purchasing this Volume, will have a complete Sett of all that great Man's Works in *English*.

'Tis an Object worthy of Attention, to follow so profound a Genius from his deepest Speculations to his more airy Flights and less finished Compositions. In some of these little Pieces Pleasure is the Subject, but he treats of it in such a Manner as can have no
Ten-

Tendency to debauch the Mind, or to corrupt the Heart. 'Twould, however, be superfluous to give a Character of the Pieces here published, or of his other Works, since the Reader will find it, at the Beginning of this Volume, so judiciously and elegantly done by Monsieur *D'Alembert*; an Article which, 'tis hoped, will make this Collection the more valuable, as an Account of the Life and Writings of such a Genius as Baron *De Montesquieu*, wrote by so able a Man, and one who knew Him so well, as M. *D'Alembert*, cannot fail of being acceptable to those who have any Curiosity, or would wish to be acquainted with the History of one of the wisest and best Men that ever appeared upon Earth.

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A N
E U L O G I U M
O N
President Montesquieu,

B Y
MONSIEUR D'ALEMBERT.

(Inserted in the Encyclopedia.)

THE interest which good citizens are pleased to take in the Encyclopedia, and the great number of men of letters, who consecrate their labours to it, seem to permit us to regard this Work as one of the most proper monuments, to preserve the grateful sentiments of our country, and that respect which is due to the memory of those celebrated men who have done it honour. Persuaded, however, that M. De Montesquieu had a title to expect other panegyrists, and that the publick grief deserved to be described by more eloquent pens, we would have concealed within our own breasts our just concern, and respect for his memory ; but the acknowledgment of what

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we owe him we hold too dear to permit us to leave the care of it to others. While a benefactor to mankind by his writings, he also condescended to be so to this work, and our gratitude pretends to no more but only to trace out a few lines at the foot of his statue.

CHARLES DE SECONDAT, Baron of La Brede and of Montesquieu, late president *a Mortier* of the parliament of Bourdeaux, member of the French academy, of the royal academy of sciences and Belles Lettres of Prussia, and of the royal society of London, was born at the castle of La Brede, near Bourdeaux, the eighteenth of January 1689, of a noble family of Guyenne. His great great grandfather, John de Secondat, steward of the household to Henry the second King of Navarre, and afterwards to Jane daughter of that King, who married Antony of Bourbon, purchased the estate of Montesquieu for the sum of 10,000 livres, which this princess gave him by an authentic deed, as a reward for his probity and services.

HENRY the third King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the fourth King of France, erected the Lands of Montesquieu into a barony, in favour of Jacob de Secondat, son of John, first one of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bedchamber to this prince, and afterwards colonel of the
regi-

regiment of Chatillon. John Gaston de Secondat, his second son, having married a daughter of the first president of the parliament of Bourdeaux, purchased the office of president *a Mortier* in this society. He had several children, one of whom entered into the service, distinguished himself in it, and quitted it very early in life. This was the father of Charles de Secondat, author of the Spirit of Laws. These particulars may perhaps appear misplaced, at the beginning of the *Eloge* of a philosopher, whose name stands so little in need of ancestors ; but let us not envy their memory that éclat which this name reflects upon it.

THE early marks of his genius, a presage sometimes so deceitful, was not so in Charles de Secondat ; he discovered very soon what he one day would be, and his father employed all his attention to cultivate this rising genius, the object of his hope and of his tenderness. At the age of twenty, young Montesquieu already prepared materials for the Spirit of Laws, by a well digested extract from those immense volumes, which compose the body of the civil law : thus heretofore Newton laid in his early youth the foundation of works, which have rendered him immortal. The study of juris-prudence, however, tho' less dry to M. de Montesquieu, than

to the most part of those who apply to it, because he studied it as a philosopher, was not sufficient for the extent and activity of his genius. He inquired deeply at the same time, into subjects still more important and more delicate, * and discussed them in silence, with that wisdom, with that decency, and with that equity, which he has since discovered in his works.

A BROTHER of his father, president *a Mortier* of the parliament of Bourdeaux, an able judge and virtuous citizen, the oracle of his own society and of his province, having lost an only son, and wanting to preserve in his own corps, that elevated spirit, which he had endeavoured to infuse into it, left his fortune and his office to M. de Montesquieu. He had been one of the counsellors of the parliament of Bourdeaux since the 24th of February 1714, and was received president *a Mortier* the 13th of July 1716.

SOME years after, in 1722, during the king's minority, his society employed him to present remonstrances upon occasion of a new impost.

* It was a work in the form of letters, the purpose of which was to prove that the idolatry of most of the Pagans did not appear to deserve eternal damnation.

Place

Placed between the throne and the people, he filled, like a respectful subject, and courageous magistrate, the imployment, so noble, and so little envied, of making the cries of the unfortunate reach the Sovereign: the publick misery, represented with as much address, as force of argument, obtained that justice which it demanded. This success, 'tis true, much more unfortunately for the state than for him, was of as short continuance, as if it had been unjust. Scarce had the voice of the people ceased to be heard, but the impost, which had been suppressed, was replaced by another: but the good citizen had done his duty.

He was received the 3d of April 1716 into the academy of Bourdeaux, which was then only beginning. A taste for musick, and for works of pure entertainment, had at first assembled together the members who composed it. M. de Montesquieu believed, with reason, that the rising ardour and talents of his friends might be employed with still greater advantage in physical subjects. He was persuaded that nature, so worthy of being beheld every where, found also in all places eyes worthy of viewing her; that, on the contrary, works of taste, not admitting of mediocrity, and the metro-

polis, being the center of men of abilities and opportunities of improvement in this way, it was too difficult to gather together at a distance from it, a sufficient number of distinguished writers. He looked upon the societies for Belles Lettres, so strangely multiplied in our provinces, as a kind, or rather as a shadow of literary luxury, which is of prejudice to real opulence, without even presenting us with the appearance of it. Luckily the Duke de la Force, by a prize which he had just founded at Bourdeaux, seconded these rational and just designs. It was judged that an experiment properly made would be preferable to a weak discourse or a bad poem; and Bourdeaux got an academy of sciences.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU, not at all eager to shew himself to the public, seemed, according to the expression of a great genius, to wait for *an age ripe for writing*. It was not till 1721, that is to say, at 32 years of age, that he published the Persian Letters. The *Siamois*, and the *serious and comic amusements*, might have furnished him with the idea of it; but he excelled his model. The description of oriental manners, real or supposed, of the pride and phlegm of Asiatic love, is but the smallest
object

object of these letters ; it only serves, so to speak, as a pretence for a delicate satire upon our manners, and for treating of several important subjects, which the author went to the bottom of, while he only appeared to glance at them. In this kind of moving picture, Usbec chiefly exposes, with as much genteel easiness as energy, whatever amongst us most struck his penetrating eyes ; our way of treating the most silly things seriously, and of turning the most important into a joke ; our conversations which are so blustering and so frivolous ; our impatience even in the midst of pleasure itself ; our prejudices and our actions perpetually in contradiction with our understandings ; so much love of glory joined with so much respect for the idol of court favour ; our courtiers so mean and so vain ; our exterior politeness to, and our real contempt of strangers, or our affected regard for them ; the fantastickness of our tastes, than which there is nothing lower, but the eagerness of all Europe to adopt them ; our barbarous disdain for the two most respectable occupations of a citizen, commerce and magistracy ; our literary disputes so keen and so useless ; our rage for writing before we think, and for judging before we understand. To this picture, which is lively but without malice, he opposes,

In the apologue of the Troglodites the description of a virtuous people, become wise by misfortunes. A piece worthy of the portico. In another place, he represents philosophy, which had been a long time smother'd, appearing all of a sudden, regaining, by a rapid progress, the time which he had lost; penetrating even amongst the Russians at the voice of a genius which invites her; while, among other people of Europe, superstition, like a thick atmosphere, prevents that light which surrounds them on all hands from reaching them. In fine, by the principles which he has established concerning the nature of ancient and modern government, he presents us with the bud of those bright ideas, which have been since developped by the author in his great work.

THESE different subjects, deprived at present of the graces of novelty which they had when the Persian Letters first appeared, will for ever preserve the merit of that original character which the author has had the art to give them: A merit by so much the more real, that in this case, it proceeds alone from the genius of the writer, and not from that foreign veil with which he covered himself: for Usbec acquired,
during

during his abode in France, not only so perfect a knowledge of our morals, but even so strong a tincture of our manners, that his style makes us often forget his country. This small defect in point of probability was perhaps not without design and address: when he was exposing our follies and vices, he wanted without doubt also to do justice to our advantages. He was fully conscious of the insipidity of a direct panegyric; he has more delicately praised us, by so often assuming our own air to satyrise us more agreeably.

NOTWITHSTANDING the success of this work, M. de Montesquieu did not openly declare himself the author of it. Perhaps he thought that by this means he would more easily escape that literary satire, which spares anonymous writings the more willingly, because 'tis always the person and not the work which is the aim of its darts. Perhaps he was afraid of being attacked on account of the pretended contrast of the Persian Letters with the gravity of his office; a sort of reproach, said he, which critics never fail to make, because it requires no effort of genius. But his secret was discovered, and the Public already pointed him out to the French academy. The event demon-

demonstrated how prudent M. de Montefquieu's silence had been. Usbec expresses himself sometimes freely enough, not concerning the fundamentals of christianity, but about matters which too many people affect to confound with christianity itself; about the spirit of persecution with which so many christians have been animated; about the temporal usurpations of ecclesiastic power; about the excessive multiplication of monasteries, which deprive the state of subjects, without giving worshippers to God; about some opinions which have in vain been attempted to be established as principles; about our religious disputes, always violent and always fatal. If he appears any where to touch upon more delicate questions, and which more nearly interest the christian religion, his reflections weighed with justice, are in fact very favourable to revelation; because he only shows how little human reason left to itself, knows concerning these subjects. In a word, among the genuine letters of M. de Montefquieu the foreign printer had inserted some by another hand: and they ought at least, before the author was condemned, to have distinguished which properly belonged to him. Without regard to these considerations, on the one hand, hatred under the name of zeal, and on the other,

other, zeal without discernment or understanding, rose and united themselves against the *Persian letters*. Informers, a species of men dangerous and base, which even in a wise government are unfortunately sometimes listened to, alarmed, by an unfaithful extract, the piety of the ministry. M. de Montesquieu, by the advice of his friends, supported by the public voice, having offered himself for that place in the French academy vacant by the death of M. de Sacy, the minister wrote a letter to the academy that his majesty would never agree to the election of the author of the *Persian Letters*: that he had not read the book; but that persons in whom he placed confidence had informed him of their poisonous and dangerous tendency. M. de Montesquieu perceived what a stroke such an accusation might be to his person, his family, and the tranquillity of his life. He neither put so high a price upon literary honours, either keenly to seek them, or to affect to disdain them when they came in his way, nor in a word to regard the simple want of them as a misfortune: But a perpetual exclusion, and especially the motives of that exclusion, appeared to him to be an injury. He saw the minister, declared to him that for particular reasons he did not own the
Persian

Persian Letters; but that he would be still farther from disowning a work for which he believed he had no reason to blush; and that he ought to be judged after a reading, and not upon an information: at last the minister did what he ought to have begun with; he read the book, loved the author, and learned to place his confidence better. The French academy was not deprived of one of its greatest ornaments; and France had the happiness to preserve a subject which superstition or calumny was ready to deprive her of: For M. de Montesquieu had declared to the government, that after that kind of affront which they were about to put upon him, he would go among foreigners, who with open arms offered to receive him, in quest of that safety, that repose, and perhaps those rewards, which he might have hoped for in his own country. The nation would have deplored this loss, and the disgrace of it would notwithstanding have fallen upon it.

THE late marshal D'Estrees, at that time director of the French academy, conducted himself upon this occasion like a virtuous courtier, and a person of a truly elevated mind: he was neither afraid of abusing his credit, nor of endangering it; he supported his friend and

justi-

justified Socrates. This act of courage, so dear to learning, so worthy of being imitated at present, and so honourable to the memory of marshal D' Estrees, ought not to have been forgot in his panegyric.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU was received the 24th of January 1728. His discourse is one of the best which has been pronounced upon a like occasion: its merit is by so much the greater, that those who were to be received, till then confined by those forms and by those *Eloges* which were in use, and to which a kind of prescription subjected them, had not as yet dared to step over this circle to treat of other subjects, or had not at least thought of comprehending them in it. Even in this state of constraint he had the happiness to succeed. Among several strokes with which his * discourse shines we may easily distinguish the deep thinking writer by the single portrait of Cardinal Richlieu, *who taught France the secret of its strength, and Spain that of its weakness; who freed Germany from her chains, and gave her new ones.* We must admire Monsieur de Montesquieu for having been able to overcome

* 'Tis printed at the end of this *Eloge*.

the difficulty of his subject, and we ought to pardon those who have not had the same success.

THE new academician was by so much the more worthy of this title, that he had not long before renounced every other business to give himself entirely up to his genius and taste. However important the place which he occupied was, with whatever judgement and integrity he might have fulfilled its duties, he perceived that there were objects more worthy of employing his talents ; that a citizen is accountable to his country and to mankind for all the good which he can do ; and that he could be more useful to the one and the other, by instructing them with his writings, than he could be by determining a few particular disputes in obscurity. All these reflections determined him to sell his office. He was no longer a magistrate, and was now only a man of letters.

BUT to render himself useful by his works to different nations, it was necessary that he should know them: 'twas with this view that he undertook to travel : his aim was to examine every where the natural and moral world, to study

study the laws and constitution of every country; to visit the learned, the writers, the celebrated artists; every where to seek for those rare and singular geniuses, whose conversation sometimes supplies the place of many years observation and residence. M. de Montesquieu might have said, like Democritus; "I have for-
 " got nothing to instruct myself: I have quit-
 " ted my country and travelled over the uni-
 " verse, the better to know truth: I have seen
 " all the illustrious personages of my time." But there was this difference between the French Democritus and him of Abdera, that the first travelled to instruct men, and the second to laugh at them.

HE first went to Vienna, where he often saw the celebrated prince Eugene. This hero, so fatal to France (to which he might have been so useful) after having given a check to the fortune of Lewis XIV. and humbled the Ottoman pride, lived during the peace without pomp, loving and cultivating letters in a court, where they are little honoured, and setting an example to his masters how they should protect them. M. de Montesquieu thought that he could discover in his conversation some remains of affection for his ancient country. Prince Eugene

Eugene especially discovered it, as much as an enemy could, when he talked of the fatal consequences of that intestine division which has so long troubled the church of France : the statesman foresaw its duration and effects, and foretold it like a philosopher.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU left Vienna to visit Hungary, an opulent and fertile country, inhabited by a haughty and generous nation, the scourge of its tyrants, and the support of its sovereigns. As few persons know this country well, he has written with care this part of his travels.

FROM Germany he went to Italy : he saw at Venice the famous Mr. Law, who had nothing remaining of his grandeur but projects fortunately destined to die away in his own head, and a diamond which he pawned to play at games of hazard. One day the conversation turned on the famous system which Law had invented ; an epoch of so many calamities and so many great fortunes, and especially of a remarkable corruption in our morals. As the parliament of Paris, the immediate depository of the laws during a minority, had made some resistance to the Scotch minister on this occasion, M. de Montesquieu asked him why he had
never

never try'd to overcome this resistance by a method almost always infallible in England, by the grand mover of human actions, in a word, by money. *These are not, answered Law, Geniuses so ardent and so generous as my countrymen; but they are much more incorruptible.* We shall add, without any prejudice of national vanity, that a society which is free for some short limited time, ought to resist corruption more, than one which is always so: the first when it sells its liberty loses it; the second, so to speak, only lends it, and exercises it even when it is doing so. Thus the circumstances and nature of government give rise to the vices and virtues of nations.

ANOTHER person no less famous, whom M. de Montesquieu saw still oftner at Venice, was Count de Bonneval. This man, so known by his adventures which were not yet at an end, and flattered with conversing with so good a judge, and one so worthy of hearing them, often related to him the remarkable circumstances of his life, recited the military actions in which he had been engaged, and drew the characters of those generals and ministers whom he had known. M. de Montesquieu often recalled to

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mind these conversations, and related different strokes of them to his friends.

HE went from Venice to Rome. In this ancient capital of the world, which is still so in some respects, he applied himself chiefly to examine that which distinguishes it most at present; the works of Raphael, of Titian, and of Michael Angelo. He had not made a particular study of the fine arts; but that expression, which shines in the master-pieces of this kind, infallibly strikes every man of genius. Accustomed to study nature, he knew her again when well imitated, as a like pourtrait strikes all those who are familiarly acquainted with the original. Those productions of art must indeed be wretched whose whole beauty is only discernible by artists.

AFTER having travelled over Italy, M. de Montesquieu came to Switzerland. He carefully examined those vast countries which are watered by the Rhine. There was nothing more for him to see in Germany, FOR FREDERIC DID NOT YET REIGN. He stopt afterwards some time in the United Provinces; an admirable monument what human industry, animated by
a love

a love of liberty, can do. At last he went to England, where he staid three years. Worthy of visiting and entertaining the greatest of men, he had nothing to regret but that he had not made this voyage sooner. Newton and Locke were dead. But he had often the honour of paying his respects to their protectress, the celebrated queen of England, who cultivated philosophy upon a throne, and who properly esteemed and valued M. de Montesquieu. He was no less well received by the nation, which, however, was not obliged to follow the example of its superiors on this occasion. He formed at London intimate friendships with men accustomed to think, and to prepare themselves for great actions by profound studies; with them he instructed himself in the nature of the government, and attained to a thorough knowledge of it. We speak here after the public testimonies which have been given him by the English themselves, so jealous of our advantages, and so little disposed to acknowledge any superiority in us.

As he had examined nothing either with the prejudice of an enthusiast, or the austerity of a cynic, he brought back from his travels, neither a saucy disdain for foreigners, nor a

still more misplaced contempt for his own country. It was the result of his observations, that Germany was made to travel in, Italy to sojourn in, England to think in, and France to live in.

AFTER his return to his own country, M. de Montesquieu retired for two years to his estate of la Brede. He there enjoyed in peace that solitude which our having viewed the tumult and hurry of the world, serves to render more agreeable: he lived with himself, after having so long lived in a different way: and, what interests us most, he put the last hand to his work *on the Cause of the Grandeur and Declension of the Romans*, which appeared in 1734.

EMPIRES, like men, must encrease, decay, and be extinguished. But this necessary revolution has often hidden causes, which the veil of time conceals from us, and which mystery or their apparent minuteness has even sometimes hid from the eyes of contemporaries.

NOTHING in this respect resembles modern history more than ancient history. That of the Romans however deserves, in this respect,
to

to be made an exception of; it presents us with a rational policy, a connected system of aggrandizement, which does not permit us to attribute the fortune of this people to obscure and inferior springs. The causes of the Roman grandeur may then be found in history; and 'tis the business of the philosopher to discover them. Besides, there are no systems in this study as in that of physic; these are almost always overthrown, because one new and unforeseen experiment can overturn them in an instant; on the contrary, when we carefully collect the facts which the ancient history of a country transmits to us, if we don't always gather together all the materials which we can desire, we can at least hope one day to have more of them. A careful study of history, a study so important and so difficult, consists in combining in the most perfect manner these defective materials: such would be the merit of an architect, who, from some curious learned remains, should trace in the most probable manner, the plan of an ancient edifice; supplying, by genius, and happy conjectures, what was wanting in these unformed and mutilated ruins.

It is in this point of view that we ought to consider the work of M. de Montesquieu. He

finds the causes of the grandeur of the Romans in that love of liberty, of labour, and of their country, which was instilled into them during their infancy; in those intestine divisions, which gave an activity to their genius, and which ceased immediately upon the appearance of an enemy; in that constancy after misfortunes, which never despaired of the republic; in that principle they adhered to of never making peace but after victories; in the honour of a triumph, which was a subject of emulation among the generals; in that protection which they granted to those people who rebelled against their kings; in the excellent policy of permitting the conquered to preserve their religion and customs; and that of never having two enemies upon their hands at once, and of bearing every thing of the one, 'till they had destroyed the other. He finds the causes of their declension in the aggrandizement of the state itself; in those distant wars, which, obliging the citizens to be too long absent, made them insensibly lose their republican spirit; in the privilege of being citizens of Rome granted to so many nations, which made the Roman people at last become a sort of many headed monster; in the corruption introduced by the luxury of Asia; in the proscriptions

tions of Sylla, which debased the genius of the nation, and prepared it for slavery; in that necessity which the Romans found themselves in of having a master, while their liberty was become burthensome to them; in that necessity they were obliged to of changing their maxims when they changed their government; in that series of monsters who reigned, almost without interruption, from Tiberius to Nerva, and from Commodus to Constantine; in a word, in the translation and division of the empire, which perished first in the West by the power of barbarians, and which, after having languished several ages in the East, under weak or cruel emperors, insensibly died away, like those rivers which disappear in the sands.

A VERY small volume was enough for M. de Montesquieu, to explain and unfold so interesting and vast a picture. As the author did not insist upon the detail, and only seized on the most fruitful branches of his subject, he has been able to include in a very small space, a vast number of objects distinctly perceived, and rapidly presented, without fatiguing the reader. While he points out a great deal to

us, he leaves us still more to reflect upon ; and he might have intitled his book *A Roman History for the use of Statesmen and Philosophers.*

WHATEVER reputation M. de Montesquieu had acquired by this last work, and by those which had preceded it, he had only cleared the way for a far grander undertaking, for that which ought to immortalize his name, and render it respectable to future ages. He had long ago formed the design : and had meditated for twenty years upon the execution of it ; or, to speak more properly, his whole life had been a perpetual meditation upon it. He had first made himself in some respect a stranger in his own country, better to understand it at last : he had afterwards travelled over all Europe, and profoundly studied the different people who inhabit it. The famous island, which glories so much in her laws, and which makes so bad a use of them, had been to him in this long tour, what the isle of Crete had formerly been to Lycurgus, a school where he had known well how to instruct himself without approving every thing : in a word, he had, if we may so speak, examined and judged those celebrated nations and men who
only

only exist at present in the annals of the world. It was thus that he attained by degrees to the noblest title which a wise man can deserve, that of legislator of nations.

IF he was animated by the importance of his subject, he was at the same time terrified by its extensiveness; he abandoned it, and returned to it again at several intervals. He felt more than once, as he himself owns, his paternal hands fail him. At last, encouraged by his friends, he collected all his strength, and published the *Spirit of Laws*.

IN this important work, M. de Montesquieu, without insisting, after the example of those who preceded him, upon metaphysical discussions relative to the nature of man, supposed in an abstract state; without confining himself, like others, to consider certain people in certain particular relations or circumstances, takes a view of the inhabitants of the world in the actual state in which they are, and in all the relations which they can stand in to one another. The most part of other writers in this way are almost always either simple moralists, or simple lawyers, or even sometimes simple theologists. As for him, a citizen of all countries,

countries, and of all nations, he is less employed about what our duty requires of us, than about the means by which we can be obliged to fulfil it; about the metaphysical perfection of laws, than about that which human nature renders man capable of; about laws which have been made, than about those which ought to have been made; about the laws of a particular people, than about those of all nations. Thus, when comparing himself to those who have run before him in this noble and grand career, he might say, with Corregio when he had seen the works of his rivals, *And I also, I am a Painter.*

FILLED and penetrated with his subject, the author of the Spirit of Laws comprehends in it so great a number of materials, and treats them with such brevity and depth, that an assiduous and studious reading of it can make us alone perceive the merit of this book. This will especially serve, we venture to say, to make that pretended want of method with which some readers have accused M. de Montesquieu disappear; an advantage which they ought not slightly to have accused him of having neglected in a philosophical subject, and in a work of twenty years. Real want
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of order ought to be distinguished from that which is only apparent. Disorder is when the analogy and connection of ideas is not observed; when conclusions are set up as principles, or precede them; when the reader after innumerable windings finds himself at the point whence he set out. Apparent disorder is when the author, putting in their true place the ideas which he makes use of, leaves it to the readers to supply the intermediate ones: and 'tis thus that M. de Montesquieu believed that he might and ought to make use of them in a book designed for men who thought, whose genius ought to supply voluntary and reasonable omissions.

THE order which is perceivable in the grand divisions of the Spirit of Laws, takes place no less in the smaller details; we believe that the more profoundly the work is studied, the more one will be convinced of it. Faithful to his general divisions, the author refers to each those objects which belong to it exclusively; and, with respect to those which, by different branches, belong to several subjects at once, he has placed under each division, that branch which properly belongs to it. By this we easily perceive, and without confusion, the influence

fluence which the different parts of the subject have upon each other; as, in a tree or system of human knowledge well understood, we may perceive the mutual relation of sciences and arts. This comparison is by so much the more just, that it is the same thing with respect to a plan which we may form to ourselves for examining laws philosophically, as of that order which may be observed in a tree comprehending all the sciences: there will always remain something arbitrary in it; and all that can be required of an author is, that he follow strictly, without deviating from it, that system which he has once formed to himself.

WE may say of that obscurity, which is allowable in such a work, the same thing as of want of order. What may be obscure for vulgar readers is not so for those whom the author had in his view. Besides, obscurity which is voluntary, is not properly obscurity. M. de Montesquieu being sometimes obliged to present to us truths of great importance, the absolute and direct avowal of which might have shocked without doing any good, has had the prudence to cover them; and, by this innocent artifice, he has concealed them from those

those to whom they might have been hurtful, without making them lost to men of sagacity.

AMONG those works which have sometimes furnished him with assistance, and sometimes with clearer views for his own, we may perceive that he has especially profited from two historians who have thought the most, Tacitus and Plutarch: but, tho' a philosopher who has read these two authors might have dispensed with a great many others, he did not believe that he ought to neglect or disdain any thing in this way which could be of use to his subject. That reading which we must suppose necessary for the Spirit of Laws is immense; and the rational use which the author has made of such a prodigious multitude of materials, will appear still more surprising, when it is known that he was almost entirely deprived of sight, and obliged to have recourse to eyes not his own; this prodigious reading contributes not only to the utility, but to the agreeableness of the work. Without derogating from the majesty of his subject, M. de Montesquieu has known how to soften its austerity, and procure the reader some moments of repose, whether by facts which are singular

singular and little known, or by delicate allusions, or by those strong and brilliant touches of the pencil which paint by one stroke nations and men.

IN a word, for we won't here play the part of Homer's commentators, there are, without doubt, faults in the Spirit of Laws, as there are in every work of genius whose author first dared to clear out for himself a new rout. M. de Montesquieu has been amongst us for the study of laws, what Descartes was for that of philosophy: he often instructs us, and is sometimes mistaken; and, even when he mistakes, he instructs those who know how to read him. The last edition of his works demonstrates, by the corrections and additions which he has made, that, if he has now and then made a slip, he has been able to find it out and to rise again. By this he will acquire at least a title to a new examination, in those places where he was not of the same opinion with his censurers; perhaps indeed what he imagined stood most in need of correction has entirely escaped them; so blind commonly is the inclination to do hurt.

BUT that which is within the reach of all
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the world in the Spirit of Laws, that which ought to render the author dear to all nations, that which would serve to cover far greater faults than are in it, is that spirit of patriotism which dictated it. The love of the public good, a desire of seeing men happy, discovers itself in it every where; and, had it no other merit but this, which is so rare and so valuable, it would be worthy, on this account alone, to be read by nations and kings. We already perceive, by happy experience, that the fruits of this work are not confined to useless sentiments in the minds of its readers. Though M. de Montesquieu survived the publication of the Spirit of Laws but a short while, he had the satisfaction in some measure to foresee those effects which it begins to produce amongst us; the natural love of Frenchmen for their country, turned towards its true object; that taste for commerce, for agriculture, and for useful arts which insensibly spreads itself in our nation; that general knowledge of the principles of government, which renders people more attached to that which they ought to love. Those who have so indecently attacked this work, perhaps owe more to it than they imagine. Ingratitude, besides, is the smallest reproach which

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we have to make to them. 'Tis not without regret, and without blushing for the age we live in, that we proceed to expose them; but this history is of too much consequence to the glory of M. de Montesquieu, and advantage to philosophy, to be passed over in silence. May that reproach which at last covers his enemies be of use to them !

SCARCE had the Spirit of Laws appeared, but it was eagerly sought after on account of the reputation of its author: but tho' M. de Montesquieu had wrote for the good of the people, he ought not to have had the vulgar for his judge. The depth of his subject was a necessary consequence of its importance. However, the strokes which were scattered up and down the work, and which would have been displaced if they had not arisen naturally from the subject, made too many people believe that it was wrote for them. People sought for an agreeable book, and they only found an useful one; the whole scheme and particular details of which they could not comprehend without some attention. The Spirit of Laws was treated with a deal of light-wit; even the title of it was made a subject
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of pleasantry ; in a word, one of the finest literary monuments which our nation ever produced, was at first regarded by it with much indifference. It was requisite that the true judges should have time to read it : they very soon corrected the errors of the multitude, always ready to change its opinion. That part of the public which teaches, dictated to that which listens to hear how it ought to think and speak ; and the suffrages of men of abilities joined to the echoes which repeated them, formed only one voice over all Europe.

'Twas then that the open and secret enemies of letters and philosophy (for there are of both kinds) united their darts against this work. Hence that multitude of pamphlets which were aimed against him from all parts, and which we shall not draw out from that oblivion in which they have sunk. If those authors had not taken proper measures to be unknown to posterity, it might be believed that the Spirit of Laws was wrote amidst a nation of Barbarians.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU easily despised the dark criticisms of those weak authors, who, whether out of a jealousy which they had no

title to have, or to satisfy the public ill-nature, which loves satire and contempt, outrageously attack what they can't attain to; and more odious on account of the ill which they want to do, than formidable for that which they actually do, don't succeed even in this kind of writing, the facility of which, as well as its object, render equally mean. He placed works of this kind on the same level with those weekly newspapers of Europe, the encomiums of which have no authority, and their darts no effect; which indolent readers run over without giving credit to, and in which sovereigns are insulted without knowing it, or without deigning to revenge it. But he was not equally indifferent about those principles of irreligion which they accused him of having propagated in the Spirit of Laws. By despising such reproaches, he would have believed that he deserved them; and the importance of the object, made him shut his eyes at the real meanness of his adversaries. Those men, who really want zeal as much as they are eager to make it appear that they have it, afraid of that light which letters diffuse, not to the prejudice of religion, but to their own disadvantage, took different ways of attacking him; some by a stratagem which was as puerile as pusillanimous,

mous, had wrote to himself; others, after having attacked him under the mask of anonymous writers, had afterwards fallen by the ears among themselves. M. de Montesquieu, tho' he was very jealous of confounding them with each other, did not think it proper to lose time, which was precious, in combating them one after another; he contented himself with making an example of him who had most signalized himself by his extravagance. 'Twas the author of an anonymous and periodical paper, who imagined that he had a title to succeed Pascal, because he has succeeded to his opinions; a panegyrist of works which nobody reads, and an apologist of miracles which the secular power put an end to whenever it wanted to do it; who calls the little interest which people of letters take in his quarrels impious and scandalous; and hath by an address worthy of him, alienated from himself that part of the nation whose affections he ought chiefly to have endeavoured to keep. The strokes of this formidable champion were worthy of those views which inspired him; he accused M. de Montesquieu of Spinosism and deism (two imputations which are incompatible;) of having followed the system of Pope (of which there is not a word in his works;) of having quoted

Plutarch, who is not a Christian author; of not having spoken of original sin and of grace. In a word, he pretended that the Spirit of Laws was a production of the constitution *Unigenitus*; an idea which we may perhaps be suspected of fathering on the critic out of derision. Those who have known M. de Montesquieu, and who understand his work, and that of Clement XI. may judge by this accusation of the rest.

THE unsuccessfulness of this writer ought greatly to discourage him: he wanted to attack a wise man in that place which is most sensible to every good citizen, but he only procured him an addition of glory as a man of letters: *the Defence of the Spirit of Laws* appeared. This work, on account of that moderation, that truth, that delicacy of ridicule which abound in it, ought to be regarded as a model in this way. M. de Montesquieu, charged by his adversary with atrocious imputations, might easily have rendered him odious; he did better, he made him ridiculous. If we are beholden to an aggressor for that good which he has done us without wanting to do it, we owe him eternal thanks for having procured us this master-piece. But what adds still more to the merit of this precious little piece is

this, that the author without thinking of it has there drawn a picture of himself: those who knew him think they hear him; and posterity will be convinced, when reading his *Defence*, that his conversation was not inferior to his writings; an encomium which few great men have deserved.

ANOTHER circumstance gave him plainly the advantage in this dispute. The critic, who, as a proof of his attachment to religion, attacks its ministers, loudly accused the clergy of France, and especially the faculty of theology, of indifference for the cause of God, because they did not authentically proscribe so pernicious a work. The faculty had a title to despise the reproach of a nameless writer: but religion was in the question; a commendable delicacy made it resolve to examine the Spirit of Laws. Tho' it has been employed about it several years, it has not yet pronounced any thing; and if some slight inadvertancies, which are almost inevitable in so vast a career, should have escaped M. de Montesquieu, the long and scrupulous attention which they would have required from the most enlightened body of the church, might prove at least how excusable they are. But this body, full of pru-

dence, will do nothing rashly in so important an affair. It knows the grounds of reason and of faith : it knows that the work of a man of letters ought not to be examined like that of a theologist ; that the bad consequences, which odious interpretations may draw from a proposition, don't render the proposition blameable in itself ; that besides we live in an unlucky age, in which the interests of religion have need of being delicately managed ; and that it may do hurt to weak people to throw an ill-timed suspicion of incredulity upon geniuses of the first rank ; that, in a word, in spite of this unjust accusation, M. de Montesquieu was always esteemed, visited and well received by the greatest and most respectable characters in the church. Would he have preserved among men of worth that esteem which he enjoyed, if they had regarded him as a dangerous writer ?

WHILE insects plagued him in his own country, England erected a monument to his glory. In 1752, M. d'Affier, celebrated for the medals which he has struck in honour of several illustrious men, came from London to Paris to strike one of him. M. de la Tour,

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an artist of such superior talents, and so respectable for his disinterestedness and greatness of mind, had ardently desired to give a new lustre to his pencil, by transmitting to posterity the portrait of the author of the Spirit of Laws; he only wanted the satisfaction of painting him; and he deserved, like Apelles, that this honour should be reserved for him: but M. de Montesquieu, as sparing of M. de la Tour's time as he himself was free of it, constantly and politely refused his pressing solicitations. M. d'Affier at first bore with such difficulties. "Do you believe, said he at last to M. de Montesquieu, that there is not as much pride in refusing my offer, as in accepting of it?" Overcome by this pleasantry, he permitted M. d'Affier to do whatever he would.

THE author of the Spirit of Laws, in fine, was peaceably enjoying his glory, when he fell sick at the beginning of February: his health, naturally delicate, began to decay for some time past, by the slow and almost infallible effect of deep study, by the uneasiness which they had endeavoured to give him on account of his work; in a word, by that kind of life which he was obliged to lead at Paris, which he felt to be fatal to him. But the eagerness

with which his company was sought after was too keen, not to be sometimes indiscreet; they would, without perceiving it, enjoy him at the expence of himself. Scarce had the news of the danger in which he was in spread abroad, but it became the object of the conversation and anxiety of the public. His house was never empty of persons of all ranks who came to enquire about his health, some out of real affection, others to have the appearance of it, or to follow the croud. His majesty, penetrated with the loss which his kingdom was about to sustain, enquired about him several times; a testimony of goodness and justice which does equal honour to the monarch and the subject. M. de Montesquieu's end was not unworthy of his life. Oppressed with cruel pains, far from a family that was dear to him, and which had not the comfort of closing his eyes, surrounded by some friends, and a great croud of spectators, he preserved, to his last moments, a calmness and tranquillity of soul. In a word, after having performed with decency every duty, full of confidence in the eternal being whom he was about to be reunited with, he died with the tranquillity of a man of worth, who had never consecrated his talents but to the improvement of virtue and humanity.

humanity. France and Europe lost him the 10th of February 1755, aged sixty-six.

ALL the public news-papers published this event as a misfortune. We may apply to M. de Montesquieu what was formerly said of an illustrious Roman; that no body, when told of his death, showed any joy at it; that no body even forgot him when he was no more. Foreigners were eager to demonstrate their regrets: my lord Chesterfield, whom it is enough to name, caused to be published in one of the public London papers, an article to his honour, an article worthy of the one and of the other; 'tis the portrait of Anaxagoras drawn by Pericles*. The royal academy of

* See this encomium in English, as we read it in the paper called the Evening Post. "On the 10th of this month, died at Paris, universally and sincerely regretted, Charles Secondat, baron of Montesquieu, and president a Mortier of the parliament of Bourdeaux. His virtues did honour to human nature, his writings justice. A friend to mankind, he asserted their undoubted and unalienable rights, with freedom, even in his own country, whose prejudices in matters of religion and government (*we must remember 'tis an Englishman who speaks*) he had long lamented and endeavoured (not without some success) to remove. He well knew and justly admired the happy constitution of this country, where fixed and known laws equally restrain monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licentiousness. His works will illustrate his name, and survive him, as long as right reason, moral obligation, and the true Spirit of Laws, shall be understood, respected, and maintained."

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sciences and belles letters of Prussia, tho' it is not its custom to pronounce the *eloge* of foreign members, thought themselves bound to do him an honour, which it had not before done to any one but the illustrious John Bernouilli. M. de Maupertuis, notwithstanding he was at that time indisposed, performed himself this last duty to his friend, and would not permit an office so dear and so melancholy to fall to the share of any other person. To so many honourable suffrages in favour of M. de Montesquieu, we believe we may add, without indiscretion, those praises which were given him, in presence of one of us, by that very monarch to whom this celebrated academy owes its lustre, a prince made to feel those losses which Philosophy sustains, and at the same time to comfort her.

THE seventeenth of February, the French academy, according to custom, performed a solemn service for him, at which, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, almost all the learned men of this body, who were not absent from Paris, thought it their duty to assist. They ought, at this melancholy ceremony, to have placed the Spirit of Laws upon his coffin, as heretofore they exposed, opposite to that of Raphael,

Raphael, his last picture of the Transfiguration. This simple and affecting ornament would have been a fine funeral oration.

HITHERTO we have only considered M. de Montesquieu as a writer and philosopher: it would be to rob him of the half of his glory, to pass over in silence his agreeable personal qualities.

HE had, in company, a sweetness and gayety of temper always the same. His conversation was spirited, agreeable, and instructive, by the great number of men and of nations whom he had known. It was, like his style, concise, full of wit and sallies, without gall, and without satire. Nobody told a story in a more lively manner, more readily, or with more grace and less affectation: he knew that the conclusion of an agreeable story is always the point in view; he therefore made dispatch to come at it, and produced the effect, without having long promised it.

HIS frequent absence of mind only rendered him more amiable: he always awaked from it by some unexpected stroke which reanimated the languishing conversation: besides,
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these were never either frolicksome, shocking, or troublesome. The fire of his genius, the great number of ideas with which it was furnished, gave rise to them ; but this never happened in the middle of an interesting or serious conversation : the desire of pleasing those in whose company he was, made him attentive to them without affectation and without constraint.

THE agreeableness of his conversation, not only resembled his character and his genius, but even that kind of method which he observed in his study. Tho' capable of deep and long continued meditation, he never exhausted his strength ; he always left off application, before he felt the least symptom of fatigue †.

† The author of the anonymous and periodical paper which we mentioned above, pretends to find a manifest contradiction, between what we say here, and that which we had said before, that M. de Montesquieu's health was impaired by the slow and almost infallible effect of deep study. But why when he was comparing the two places, has he suppressed these words, *Slow and almost infallible*, which he had under his eyes? 'Tis evidently because he perceived, that an effect which is slow, is not a bit less real for being not felt immediately ; and that, consequently, these words destroy that appearance of contradiction which he pretends to point out. Such is the fidelity of this author in trifles, and for a stronger reason in more serious matters.

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HE was sensible to glory; but he did not wish to attain to it, but by deserving it. He never endeavoured to augment his own by those underhand practices, by those dark and shameful methods, which dishonour the character of the man without adding to that of the author.

WORTHY of every distinction, and of every reward, he asked nothing, and he was not surprised that he was forgot: but he has adventured, even in delicate circumstances, to protect at court men of letters who were persecuted, celebrated, and unfortunate, and has obtained favours for them.

THO' he lived with the great, whether out of necessity, or propriety, or taste, their company was not necessary to his happiness. He retired whenever he could to his estate in the country; he there again, with joy, met his philosophy, his books, and his repose. Surrounded, at his leisure hours, with country people, after having studied man, in the commerce of the world, and in the history of nations, he studied him also in those simple people whom nature alone has instructed, and
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he could from them learn something : he conversed chearfully with them ; he endeavoured, like Socrates, to find out their genius ; he appeared as happy when conversing with them, as in the most brilliant assemblies, especially when he made up their differences, and comforted them under their distress by his beneficence.

NOTHING does greater honour to his memory than the method in which he lived, which some people have pretended to blame as extravagant in a proud and avaricious age, extremely unfit to find out, and still less to feel the real benevolent motives of it.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU would neither make encroachments upon the fortune of his family, by those supplies which he gave the unfortunate, nor by those considerable expences, which his long tour of travelling, the weakness of his sight, and the printing of his works had exposed him to. He transmitted to his children, without diminution or augmentation, the estate which he received from his ancestors ; he added nothing to it but the glory of his name, and the example of his life. He had married in 1715, dame Jane
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de Lartigue, daughter of Peter de Lartigue, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Molevrier : he had two daughters and one son by her, who by his character, his morals, and his works, has shewn himself worthy of such a father.

THOSE who love truth and their country, will not be displeased to find some of his maxims here : he thought,

THAT every part of the state ought to be equally subject to the Laws, but that the privileges of every part of the state ought to be respected when their effects have nothing contrary to that natural right which obliges every citizen equally to concur to the public good: that ancient possession was in this kind the first of titles and the most inviolable of rights, which it was always unjust, and sometimes dangerous, to want to shake.

THAT magistrates, in all circumstances, and notwithstanding whatever advantage it might be to their own body, ought never to be any thing but magistrates without partiality and without passion, like the laws which absolve and punish without love and hatred.

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IN a word, he said, upon occasion of those ecclesiastical disputes which have so much employed the Greek emperors and Christians, that theological disputes, when they are not confined to the schools, infallibly dishonour a nation in the eyes of its neighbours: in fact, the contempt in which wise men hold those quarrels, does not vindicate the character of their country; because sages making every where the least noise and being the smallest number, 'tis never from them that the nation is judged of.

THE importance of those works which we have had occasion to mention in this panegyric has made us pass over in silence less considerable ones, which served as a relaxation to our author, and which in any other person would have merited an encomium. The most remarkable of them is the temple of Gnidus, which was very soon published after the Persian Letters. M. de Montesquieu, after having been Horace, Theophrastus and Lucian in those, was an Ovid and Anacreon in this new essay. 'Tis no more the despotic love of the East which he proposes to paint; 'tis the delicacy and simplicity of pastoral-love, such as it
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is in an unexperienced heart which the commerce of the world has not yet corrupted. The author, fearing perhaps that a picture so opposite to our manners should appear too languid and uniform, has endeavoured to animate it by the most agreeable images. He transports the reader into enchanted scenes, the view of which, to say the truth, little interests the lover in his happiest moments, but the description of which still flatters the imagination, when the passions are gratified. Inspired by his subject, he hath adorned his prose with that animated, figurative, and poetic stile, which the romance of Telemachus gave the first example of amongst us. We don't know why some censurers of the temple of Gnidus have said upon this occasion, that it ought to have been wrote in verse. The poetic stile, if we understand, as we ought by this word, a stile full of warmth and images, does not stand in need of the uniform march and cadency of versification to be agreeable: but if we only make this stile to consist in a diction loaded with needless epithets, in the cold and trivial descriptions of the wings and quiver of love, and of such objects, versification will add nothing to the merit of these beaten ornaments; in vain will we look for the life and spirit of it. However this be,

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the temple of Gnidus being a sort of poem in prose, it belongs to our celebrated writers to determine the rank which it ought to hold : it is worthy of such judges.

WE believe at least the descriptions in this work may with success stand one of the principal tests of poetic descriptions, that of being represented on canvass. But what we ought chiefly to observe in the temple of Gnidus, is that Anacreon himself is always the observer and the philosopher there. In the fourth canto the author appears to describe the manners of the Cyberites, and it may easily be perceived that these are our own manners. The preface especially bears the mark of the author of the Persian Letters. When he represents the Temple of Gnidus as a translation from a Greek manuscript, a piece of wit which has been so much disfigured since by bad imitators, he takes occasion to paint by one stroke of his pen the folly of critics, and the pedantry of translators. He concludes with these words, which deserve to be repeated : ‘ If serious people require some other work of me of a less frivolous nature, I can easily satisfy them ; I have been labouring thirty years at a work of twelve pages, which will contain all that we
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‘ know of metaphysics, politics, and morality,
 ‘ and all that the greatest authors have forgot
 ‘ in the volumes which they have published
 ‘ on these sciences.’

WE look upon that particular interest which M. de Montesquieu took in the Encyclopædia, as one of the most honourable rewards of our labour: this work, till the present time, has only been supported by the courage and emulation of its authors. All men of letters ought, as he thought, eagerly to concur in the execution of this most useful undertaking. He gave an example of it, with M. de Voltaire, and several other celebrated writers. Perhaps the opposition which this work has met with, and which reminded him of what had happened to himself, interested him the more in our favour. Perhaps he was sensible, without perceiving it, of that justice which we dared to do him in the first volume of the Encyclopædia, when no body as yet ventured to say a word in his defence. He prepared for us an article *upon taste*, which has been found imperfect among his papers. We shall give it to the public in that condition, and treat it with the same respect that antiquity formerly showed to

the last words of Seneca. Death prevented him from giving us any farther marks of his beneficence ; and joining our own griefs with those of all Europe, we might write on his tomb,

*Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, patriæ tristis,
extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit.*

TACIT. in Agric.

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T H E
A N A L Y S I S
O F
The SPIRIT of LAWS.

By M. D'ALEMBERT.

THE greatest part of men of letters who have mentioned the Spirit of Laws, having rather endeavoured to criticize it than to give a just idea of it; we shall endeavour to supply what they ought to have done, and to explain its plan, its nature, and its object. Those who may think this Analysis too long, will perhaps be of opinion, after having read it, that there was no other method but this alone of making the author's method properly understood. Besides, it ought to be remembered, that the history of celebrated writers is no more than that of their thoughts and their works; and that this part of their history is the most essential, and most useful.

MEN in the state of nature, abstracting from all religion, in those disputes which they may have, knowing no other law but that of all animals, the right of the strongest, the establishment of society ought to be regarded as a kind of treaty against this unjust title; a treaty destined to establish a sort of balance between the different divisions of the human race.

BUT it happens in the moral, as in the physical equilibrium; it is seldom perfect and durable, and the treaties of mankind are, like treaties among our princes, a perpetual source of disputes. Interest, necessity, and pleasure, made men associate together. The same motives push them continually to want to enjoy the advantages of society without bearing the burdens of it; and it is in this sense that we may say with our author, That men, from the time they enter into society, are in a state of war. For war supposes in those who make it, if not an equality of strength, at least an opinion of this equality; whence arise the mutual desire and hope of conquest. Now, in a state of society, if the balance among men is never perfect, neither is it, on the other hand, too unequal. On the contrary, they would
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either have nothing to dispute about in the state of nature; or if necessity obliged them to it, nothing would be seen but weakness flying before force, oppressors meeting with no resistance, and those who were oppressed, tamely submitting.

BEHOLD then men, united and armed at the same time, embracing each other on one side, if we may speak so; and endeavouring on the other mutually to wound each other. Laws are the chains, more or less efficacious, which are destined to suspend or to restrain their blows. But the prodigious extent of the globe which we inhabit, the different nature of the regions of the earth, and of the people who are spread over it, not permitting that all mankind should live under one and the same government, the human race was obliged to divide itself into a certain number of states, distinguished by the difference of those laws to which they are subjected. One single government would have made the human kind to have been no more than one extenuated and languishing body, extended without vigour over the surface of the earth. The different governments are so many robust and active bodies, which, by mutually assisting each other, form one whole,

and whose reciprocal action maintains and keeps up motion and life every where.

WE may distinguish three sorts of governments, the republican, the monarchical, the despotic. In the republican, the people in a body possess the sovereign power. In the monarchical, one single person governs by fundamental laws. In the despotic, no other law is known but the will of a master, or rather of a tyrant. This is not to say, that there are in the universe only these three kinds of government; 'tis not even to say, that there are states which belong only and strictly to some one of these forms; the greatest part of them are mixed or shaded the one with the other. Here, monarchy inclines to despotism; there, the monarchical government is combined with the republican; elsewhere, 'tis not the whole people, 'tis only a part of them, which make the laws. But the preceding division is not on that account the less just and exact. The three kinds of government, which it includes, are so distinguished that they have properly nothing in common; and besides, all the governments which we know participate the one of the other. It was then necessary to form particular classes of these three kinds, and afterwards
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to determine the laws which are proper for each ; it will be easy afterwards to adapt those laws to any particular government, according as it may belong more or less to those different forms.

IN different states, the laws ought to be relative to their *nature*, that is to say, to that which constitutes them ; and to their *principle*, that is to say, to that which supports them, and puts them in motion : an important distinction, the key of an infinite number of laws, and from which the author draws many consequences.

THE principal laws relative to the *nature* of democracy are ; That the people be in some respects the monarch, and in others the subject ; that it elect and judge its magistrates, and that the magistrates on certain occasions decide. The *nature* of monarchy requires, That there be between the monarch and the people one body to whom the laws are entrusted, and which ought to be a mediator between the subject and the prince. The *nature* of despotism requires, That the tyrant exercise his authority, either by himself alone, or by one who represents him.

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As to the *principle* of the three governments ; that of democracy is the love of the republic, that is, of equality. In monarchies where one single person is the dispenser of distinctions and rewards, and where they are accustomed to confound the state with this single man, the principle is honour, that is, ambition, and the love of esteem. Lastly, under despotism, 'tis fear. The more vigorous these principles are, the more fixed the government is ; the more these are altered and corrupted, the more it tends to its destruction. When the author speaks of equality in democracy, he does not mean an extreme, absolute, and consequently chimerical equality. He means that happy equilibrium which renders all the citizens equally subject to the laws, and equally interested to observe them.

IN every government the laws of education ought to be relative to its *principle*. We understand here by *education* that which they receive when they are entering upon the world ; and not that of parents and of school-masters, which is often contrary to it, especially in some states. In monarchies, education ought to have for its object politeness and reciprocal civilities :

lities : in despotic states, terror, and the debasing the spirits of men. In republics they have occasion for all the force of education : it ought to inspire a sentiment which is noble, but hard to be attained, that disregard to our own interest from whence the love of our country arises.

THE laws which the legislator makes ought to be conformable to the principle of each government : in a republic, to maintain equality and frugality ; in monarchy, to support the nobility without ruining the people ; in a despotic government, to silence and equally to keep under subjection those of every condition. M. de Montesquieu ought not to be accused of having pointed out to sovereigns the principles of arbitrary power, the very name of which is so odious to just princes, and still more so to a wise and virtuous citizen. 'Tis to labour to destroy it, to point out what is necessary to maintain it : the perfection of this government is its ruin, and an exact system of the laws of tyranny, such as our author describes it to us, is at the same time a satyr upon, and the most formidable scourge of tyrants. With respect to other governments, they have

have each their advantages : the republican is more proper to small, the monarchical to great states ; the republican is more subjected to excesses, the monarchical to abuses ; the republican executes the laws after more mature deliberation, the monarchical with more promptitude.

THE difference of the principles of the three governments must produce many differences in the number and object of laws, in the forms of judgments, and the nature of punishments. The constitution of monarchies, being invariable and fundamental, requires more civil laws and tribunals, that justice may be administered in the most uniform and least arbitrary manner. In moderate governments, be they monarchical or republican, there cannot be too many formalities in criminal laws. Punishments ought not only to be in proportion to the crime, but also as gentle as possible, especially in a democracy : the opinion attached to punishments will often have more effect than their severity. In republics, judgment must be given according to law, because no individual has the power to alter it. In monarchies, the clemency of the sovereign can sometimes

sometimes soften the law : but crimes ought never to be judged there but by magistrates expressly intrusted with that office. In a word, 'tis principally in democracies that the laws ought to be severe against luxury, looseness of morals, and debauching of women. Their very softness and weakness render them fit enough to govern in monarchies ; and history proves, that they have often wore a crown with glory.

M. DE MONTESQUIEU having thus run over each government in particular, afterwards examines them in the relation which they may have with each other, but only in the most general point of view, that is to say, under that which is only relative to their nature and their principle. Viewed in this light, states can have no relations, but that of defending themselves, or of attacking. Republics by their nature, supposing their state to be small, cannot defend themselves without alliances ; but it is with republics that they ought to ally themselves. The defensive force of monarchy consists principally in having frontiers secured from insults. States, like men, have a right to attack for their own preservation: from the right of war that of conquest is derived ; a right necessary,

cessary, lawful, calamitous, *which always lays an immense debt upon us, if we would discharge what on that account becomes due from us to human nature*, and the general law of which is to do as little harm as possible to the conquered. Republics can conquer less than monarchies : immense conquests suppose despotism already in a state, or render its approach certain. One of the great principles of the spirit of conquest ought to be, to render the condition of the conquered as much better as possible : this is to fulfil, at once, the law of nature, and a maxim of state. Nothing is more noble than that treaty of peace which Gelo made with the Carthaginians, by which he forbade them to sacrifice for the future their own children. The Spaniards, when they conquered Peru, ought in the same way to have obliged the inhabitants no more to have sacrificed men to their Gods ; but they thought it more advantageous to sacrifice these people themselves. There remained nothing to them as a conquest but a vast desert ; they were obliged to depopulate their own country, and for ever weakened it by their own conquest. It may sometimes be necessary to change the laws of the conquered people ; it can never be so to deprive them of their manners, or even of their customs, which are often all
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they have for manners. But the surest way of preserving a conquest, is to put, if 'tis possible, the conquered on a level with the conquerors, to grant them the same rights and the same privileges: this the Romans often did, and thus especially Cæsar acted with respect to the Gauls.

HITHERTO, when considering government, as well in itself as in its relation to others, we have neither taken notice of what ought to be common to them, nor of those particular circumstances which arise either from the nature of the country, or from the genius of the people. 'Tis this which we must now explain.

THAT political liberty which every citizen ought to enjoy, is the common law of all governments, at least moderate governments, and consequently just ones. This liberty is not an absurd licence of doing every thing we wish to do, but the power of doing every thing that the laws permit. It may be considered either in its relation to the constitution, or in its relation to the citizen. There are in the constitution of every state two sorts of powers, the legislative and the executive; and this last has
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two objects, the internal police, and its relation to foreign interests. 'Tis from the legitimate distribution and proper subdivision of these different powers, that the greatest perfection of political liberty with relation to the constitution depends. M. de Montesquieu brings as a proof of this the constitution of the Roman republic, and that of England. He finds the principle of the last in that fundamental law of the government of the ancient Germans, that affairs of small importance were determined by the chiefs, and that great affairs were brought before the tribunal of the nation, after they had been first debated by them. M. de Montesquieu does not examine whether the English enjoy actually or not that high political liberty which their constitution gives them; 'tis enough for him that it is established by their laws. He is still farther from writing a satire upon other states: he believes on the contrary, that an excess even of good is not always desirable; that extreme liberty, like extreme slavery, has its inconveniences; and that in general human nature is most adapted to a middling state of freedom.

POLITICAL liberty, considered with relation to a citizen, consists in that security in which he
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lives under shelter of the laws ; or at least in an opinion of this security which makes no one citizen entertain any fear of another. 'Tis principally by the nature and proportion of punishments, that this liberty is established or destroyed. Crimes against religion ought to be punished by a privation of those advantages which religion procures ; crimes against morality, by shame ; crimes against the public tranquillity, by imprisonment or banishment ; crimes against its security, by more grievous punishments. Writings ought to be less punished than actions ; simple thoughts ought never to be so. Accusations which are not according to the forms of law, spies, anonymous letters, all those resources of tyranny which are equally disgraceful to such as are the instruments of them, and to those who make use of them, ought to be proscribed in every good monarchical government. No body ought to be permitted to accuse but in face of the law, which always punishes either the accused person or the calumniator. In every other case, those who govern ought to say, with the Emperor Constantius: *We cannot suspect a man against whom no accuser appeared, when at the same time he did not want an enemy.* 'Tis a very fine institution by which a public officer charges himself, in name of the

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state,

state, with the prosecution of crimes ; as this answers all the good purposes of informers without being exposed to those sordid interests, those inconveniencies, and that infamy, which attend them.

THE greatness of taxes ought to be in a direct proportion, with public liberty. Thus, in democracies they may be greater than elsewhere, without being burdensome ; because every citizen looks upon them as a tribute which he pays to himself, and which secures the tranquillity and fortune of every member of it. Besides, in a democratical state, an unjust application of the public revenue is more difficult ; because it is easier to find it out, and to punish it, he who is intrusted with it being obliged to give an account of it, so to speak, to the first citizen who requires it of him.

IN every government, of whatever sort, the least burdensome kind of tax is that which is laid upon merchandize ; because the citizen pays without perceiving it. An excessive number of troops in time of peace is only a pretence to load the people with taxes, a means of enervating the state, and an instrument of slavery.

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THAT administration of the revenues which makes the whole produce of it enter into the public treasury is beyond comparison least chargeable to the people, and consequently more advantageous when it can take place than the farming out of these taxes, which always leaves in the hands of private persons part of the revenue of the state. But above all, every thing is ruined (these are the author's own words) when the profession of a farmer of the revenues becomes honourable ; and it becomes so, when luxury is at a great height. To permit some men to acquire vast fortunes out of what belongs to the public, to plunder them in their turn, as was formerly practised in certain states, is to repair one injustice by another, and to commit two ills instead of one.

LET us now come, with M. de Montesquieu, to those particular circumstances which are independant of the nature of government, and to which laws ought to be adapted. The circumstances which arise from the nature of the country, are of two sorts ; the one has a relation to the climate, the other to the soil. No body doubts but that the climate has an influence upon the habitual disposition of the bodies,

and consequently upon the characters of men; on which account laws ought to be framed agreeable to the nature of the clime in indifferent things, and, on the contrary, to resist its bad effects. Thus, in countries where the use of wine is hurtful, that law which forbids it is a very good one: in countries where the heat of the climate inclines people to laziness, that law which encourages labour is a very proper one. The government can then correct the effects of the climate; and this is enough to obviate that reproach which has been thrown upon the Spirit of Laws, as if it attributed every thing to cold and heat: for, besides that heat and cold are not the only circumstances by which climates are distinguished, it would be as absurd to deny certain effects of climate, as to attribute every thing to it.

THE practice of having slaves, established in the warm countries of Asia and America, and rejected in the temperate climates of Europe, affords our author an opportunity of treating of slavery in a state. Men having no more right over the liberty, than over the lives of each other, it follows that slavery, generally speaking, is against the law of nature. In effect, the right of slavery cannot arise from war, because

cause it could not then be founded on any thing but the redemption of one's life, and nobody has a right over the life of one who no longer attacks him ; nor from that sale which a man may make of himself to another, since every citizen, being accountable for his life to the state, is still more so for his liberty, and consequently has no title to sell it. Besides, what could be a proper price for such a sale ? It cannot be the money given to the seller, because the moment he sells himself every thing that belongs to him becomes the property of his master : now a sale without a price is as chimerical, as a contract without a condition. There could never be but one just law in favour of slavery ; this was that Roman law which made a debtor become the slave of a creditor : and even this law, to be equitable, ought to limit the slavery, both with respect to its degree, and time of duration. Slavery can only be tolerated in despotic states, where freemen, too weak against the government, endeavour to become, by their usefulness, the slaves of those who tyrannise over the state ; or in those climates, where heat so enervates the body and weakens the courage, that men cannot be incited to a laborious task but by the fear of punishment. Near to civil slavery

may be placed domestic slavery, that is, that in which women are kept in certain countries. This can take place in those countries of Asia where they are in a condition to live with men before they can make use of their reason ; marriageable by the law of the climate, children by that of nature. This subjection becomes still more necessary in those countries where polygamy is established : a custom which M. de Montesquieu does not pretend to justify, in so far as it is contrary to religion ; but which, in places where it is received, and, only speaking politically, may have a foundation to a certain degree, either from the nature of the climate, or the relation which the number of women bears to that of men. M. de Montesquieu speaks upon this occasion of repudiation and divorce ; and he shows, from good reasons, that repudiation once admitted ought to be permitted to women as well as to men.

IF the climate has so much influence on domestic and civil slavery, it has no less on political slavery ; that is, upon what subjects one nation to another. The people in the north are stronger and more courageous than those of the south ; these must then in general be conquered,

quered, those conquerors; these slaves, those free. And history confirms this: Asia has been eleven times conquered by the people of the north; Europe has suffered many fewer revolutions.

WITH respect to laws relative to the nature of the soil, 'tis plain, that democracy agrees better than monarchy to barren countries, where the earth has occasion for all the industry of men. Liberty, besides, in this case, is a sort of recompence for the difficulty of labour. More laws are necessary for a people which follows agriculture, than for one which tends flocks; for this, than for a hunting people; for a people which makes use of money, than for one that does not: in a word, the particular genius of a nation ought to be attended to. Vanity, which augments objects, is a good spring for government; pride, which undervalues them, is a dangerous one. The legislator ought to respect, to a certain degree, prejudices, passions, abuses. He ought to imitate Solon, who gave the Athenians not those laws which were best in themselves, but the best which they were capable of receiving: the gay character of this people required gentle, the austere character of the Lacedemonians, severe laws.

laws. Laws are a bad method of changing the manners and customs ; 'tis by rewards and example that we ought to endeavour to bring that about. 'Tis however true at the same time, that the laws of a people, when they don't grossly and directly affect to shock its manners, must insensibly have an influence upon them, either to confirm or change them.

AFTER having in this manner deeply considered the Nature and Spirit of Laws with relation to different kinds of climates and people, our author returns again to consider states in that relation which they bear to each other. At first, when comparing them in a general manner, he could only view them with respect to the prejudice which they can do each other : here he considers them with respect to those mutual succours which they can give. Now these succours are principally founded on commerce. If the spirit of commerce naturally produces a spirit of interest, which is different from the sublimity of moral virtues, it also renders the people naturally just, and averse to idleness and living on plunder. Free people who live under moderate governments, must be more given to it, than enslaved nations. No nation ought ever to exclude from its commerce

merce another nation without great reasons. Besides, liberty in this way is not an absolute privilege granted to merchants to do what they will ; a power which would be oft prejudicial to them. It consists in laying no restraints on merchants but for the advantage of commerce. In a monarchy, the nobility ought not to apply to it, and still less the prince. In a word, there are some nations to which commerce is disadvantageous ; but they are not such as stand in need of nothing, but such as stand in need of ever thing ; a paradox which our author renders intelligible by the example of Poland, which wants every thing except corn, and which, by that commerce which it carries on with it, deprives the common people of the necessaries of life, to gratify the luxury of the nobility. M. de Montesquieu takes occasion, when treating of those laws which commerce requires, to give us an history of its different revolutions : and this part of his book is neither the least interesting, nor the least curious. He compares the impoverishment of Spain by the discovery of America, to the fate of that weak prince in the fable, ready to perish for hunger, because he had asked the Gods that every thing that he touched should be turned into gold. The use of money being one considerable

ble part of the object of commerce, and its principal instrument, he was of opinion that he ought, in consequence of this, to treat of the different operations with respect to money, of exchange, of the payment of public debts, of lending out money for interest, the rules and limits of which he fixes, and which he distinguishes accurately from that excess so justly condemned as usury.

POPULATION and the number of inhabitants have an immediate connexion with commerce; and marriages, having population as their object, under this article M. de Montesquieu goes to the bottom of this important subject. That which favours propagation most is general chastity: experience proves, that illicit amours contribute very little, and even sometimes are prejudicial to it. The consent of fathers has with justice been required in marriages: nevertheless some restrictions ought to be added; for the law ought in general to favour marriage. That law which forbids the marriage of mothers with their sons, is, independently of the precepts of religion, a very good civil law; for, without mentioning several other reasons, the parties being of very different ages, these sort of marriages can rarely have propagation as
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their object. That law which forbids the marriage of a father with a daughter is founded upon very different reasons. However (only speaking in a political sense) it is not so indispensibly necessary to the object of population as the other, because the power of propagating continues much longer in men; and the other custom has, besides, been established among certain nations which the light of christianity had not inlightned. As nature of herself prompts to marriage, that must be a bad government which is obliged to encourage it. Liberty, security, moderate taxes, banishing of luxury, are the true principles and supports of populousness. However laws may, with success, be made to encourage marriage, when, in spite of corruption, there is still something remaining in the people which attaches them to the love of their country. Nothing is finer than the laws of Augustus, to promote the propagation of the species. Unfortunately he made those laws in the decline, or rather after the downfall of the republic; and the dispirited citizens must have foreseen, that they would no longer propagate any thing but slaves: and indeed the execution of those laws was very faint during all the time of the Pagan Emperors. At last Constantine abolished them
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when he became a christian ; as if christianity had had in view to dispeople the world when it recommended the perfection of celibacy to a small number.

THE establishment of hospitals, according to the different spirit of these foundations, may be hurtful or favourable to population. There may, and indeed there ought to be, hospitals in a state where the most part of the citizens are maintained by their industry ; because this industry may sometimes be unsuccessful ; but that relief which those hospitals give ought to be only temporary, not to encourage beggary and idleness. The people are first to be made rich, and then hospitals to be built for unforeseen and pressing occasions. Unhappy are those countries where the multitude of hospitals and of monasteries, which are only a kind of perpetual hospitals, makes all the world live at ease but those who work !

M. DE MONTESQUIEU has hitherto only spoke of human laws ; he now proceeds to those of religion, which, in almost all states, compose so essential an object of government. Every where he breaks forth into praises of christianity ; he points out its advantages and
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its grandeur ; he endeavours to make it be loved ; he maintains, that it is not impossible, as Bayle has pretended, that a society of perfect christians should actually form a durable state. But he also thought that he might be permitted to examine what different religions, humanly speaking, might have suitable or unsuitable to the genius and situation of those people which profess them. 'Tis in this point of view that we must read all that he has wrote upon this article, and which has been the subject of so many unjust declamations. It is especially surprising that, in an age which presumes to call so many others barbarous, what he has said of toleration should be objected to him as a crime ; as if approving and tolerating a religion were the same ; as if the gospel itself did not forbid every other way of propagating it, but that of meekness and persuasion. Those in whose heart superstition has not extinguished every sentiment of compassion and justice, will not be able to read, without being moved, the Remonstrance to the Inquisitors, that odious tribunal, which outrageously affronts religion when it appears to avenge it.

In a word, after having treated in particular of the different kind of laws which men can
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have, there remains nothing more than to compare them all together, and to examine them in their relation with those things concerning which they prescribe rules.

MEN are governed by different kinds of laws ; by natural law, common to each individual ; by the divine law, which is that of religion ; by the ecclesiastical law, which is that of the policy of religion ; by the civil law, which is that of the members of the same society ; by the political law, which is that of the government of that society ; by the law of nations, which is that of societies with respect to each other. These laws have each their distinct objects, which are carefully not to be confounded. That which belongs to the one ought never to be regulated by the other, lest disorder and injustice should be introduced into the principles which govern men. In a word, those principles which prescribe the nature of the laws, and which determine their objects, ought to prevail also in the manner of composing them. A spirit of moderation ought, as much as possible, to dictate all their different dispositions. Laws that are properly made will be conformed to the intention of the legislator,

lator, even when they appear to be in opposition to it. Such was the famous law of Solon, by which all who should not take some part in the public tumults were declared infamous. It prevented seditions, or rendered them useful by forcing all the members of the republic to attend to its true interests. Even the ostracism was a good law; for, on one hand, it was honourable to the citizen who was the object of it, and prevented, on the other, the effects of ambition: besides, a great number of suffrages was necessary, and they could only banish every fifth year. Laws, which appear the same, have often neither the same motive, nor the same effect, nor the same equity. The form of government, different conjunctures, and the genius of the people, quite change them. In a word, the style of laws ought to be simple and grave. They may dispense with giving reasons, because the reason is supposed to exist in the mind of the legislator; but when they give reasons, they ought to be built upon evident principles: they ought not to resemble that law which, prohibiting blind people to plead, gives this as a reason, because they can't see the ornaments of magistracy.

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M. DE MONTESQUIEU, to point out by examples the application of his principles, has chosen two different people, the most celebrated in the world, and those whose history most interests us; the Romans and the French. He does not dwell but upon one point of the jurisprudence of the first, that which regards succession. With regard to the French, he enters into a greater detail, concerning the origin and revolutions of their civil laws, and the different usages abolished or still subsisting, which have been the consequences of them. He principally enlarges upon the feudal laws, that kind of government unknown to all antiquity, which will perhaps for ever be so to future ages, and which has done so much good and so much ill. He especially considers these laws in the relation which they have with the establishment and revolution of the French monarchy. He proves, against the Abbé du Bos, that the Franks actually entered as conquerors among the Gauls; and that it is not true, as this author pretends, that they had been called by the people to succeed to the rights of the Roman Emperors who oppressed them: a detail profound, exact and curious, but in which it is impossible for us to follow him.

SUCH

SUCH is the general analysis, but a very imperfect one, of M. de Montesquieu's work. We have separated it from the rest of his *Eloge*, not too much to interrupt the thread of our history.

[23]

A N

O R A T I O N

Pronounced the 24th of January, 1728.

By President MONTESQUIEU:

When he was received into the *French Academy*,
in room of the late M. DE SACY.

GENTLEMEN,

BY bestowing upon me the place of MR.
DE SACY, you have not so much taught
the public what I am, as what I ought to be.

IT was not your intention to compare me
with him, but to point him out to me as a
model.

FORMED for society, he was amiable, he was
useful in it: his manners were easy and agree-
able; his morals were strict and severe.

To a fine genius he joined a still more ex-
cellent heart: the qualities of his head held
only

only the second place in him; they were an ornament to his merit, but not its principal source.

HE wrote to instruct; and while instructing, he always made himself be beloved. Every thing in his works breathes a spirit of candor and probity. They make us feel and confess the goodness of his heart: we never discover the great man, but along with the man of honour.

HE followed virtue from natural inclination; he was still more attached to it by his studies. He was of opinion that having wrote upon morality, it became him to be more strict in his conduct than others; that there could be no excuse for him, since he had laid down the rules of duty; that it would be ridiculous if he himself could not do what he believed all men capable of doing; that it would be an abandoning of his own maxims; and that he would at the same time have had reason to blush for what he had done, and for what he had said.

IN what a noble manner did he exercise his profession? All who stood in need of his as-

sistance became his friends. At the end of each day, he hardly met with any other reward but that of some additional good actions : always less rich, and always more disinterested, he hath left his children scarce any thing more than the honour of having had so illustrious a father.

GENTLEMEN, you love virtuous men ; you don't overlook even in the finest genius any ill quality of the heart ; and you look upon talents, without virtue, as fatal presents, only proper to add strength to our vices, or to render them more conspicuous.

AND by this you are indeed worthy of those great protectors who have intrusted you with their glory, who have wished to be transmitted down to posterity, but who have wished to be so along with you.

MANY orators and poets have celebrated them ; but it is only you who have been established to render them, so to speak, a perpetual homage.

FULL of zeal and admiration for those great men ; you are always recalling them to our remembrance. You are continually celebrating them ;

them ; and yet so surprising is the effect of your art, your eulogiums appear always new.

You always excite our admiration and wonder, when you celebrate that great minister, who out of chaos reduced the rules of monarchy to a regular system ; who taught France the secret of her strength, Spain that of her weakness ; freed Germany from her chains, gave her new ones ; broke every power in its turn, and destined, so to speak, *Lewis the Great* for the great actions which he afterwards performed.

You never resemble each other in your *Eloges* of that Chancellor, who neither abused the confidence of kings, nor the obedience and submission of the people ; and who, in the exercise of magistracy, was without passion like the laws, which absolve and punish without love or hatred.

BUT above all we are charmed to behold you with emulation strive to draw the portrait of *Lewis the Great*, that portrait every day begun and never finished, every day more advanced and more difficult. Hardly can we conceive the wonders of that reign which you celebrate.

lebrate. When you represent to us sciences every where encouraged, arts protected, *belles lettres* cultivated, we imagine we hear you talking of a reign of peace and tranquillity. When you sing of wars and victories, you seem to us to be relating the history of some nation rushing from the north to change the face of the earth. Here we see the king, there the hero. 'Tis thus that a majestic river is turned into a torrent that destroys every thing that opposes its passage: 'tis thus that the sky appears to the husbandman clear and serene, whilst, in the neighbouring country, it is covered over with fire, lightning and thunder.

GENTLEMEN, you have associated me with yourselves in your labours, you have raised me to your own dignity; and I return you thanks for permitting me to know you better, and more nearly to behold and admire you.

I RETURN you thanks for giving me a particular right to write the actions of our young monarch. May he delight to hear those encomiums which are given to pacific princes! May that immense power which is put in his hands, be a pledge of the happiness of all! May all the earth repose itself under his throne! May he

he be the king of one nation, and the protector of every other ! May every people love him ; may his subjects adore him ; and may there not be one single person in the universe who shall grieve at his happiness, or dread his prosperity ! May those fatal jealousies, which render men the enemies of men, at last perish ! May human blood, that blood which always pollutes the earth, be spared ! And that this great object may be obtained, may that minister who is necessary to the world, who is such a one as the people of France should have asked of Heaven, continue to give counsels which penetrate the heart of a prince always ready to do every good action that is proposed to him, or to repair that ill which he was not the author of, and which time has produced !

LEWIS has shewn, that as people are subjected to the laws, princes are so to their promises, which are sacred : That great kings who can't be so by any other power, are invincibly bound by those chains which they make for themselves, like that God whose representatives they are, who is always independent, and always faithful to his promises. How many virtues does a faith, so religiously observ-

ed, presage! Such shall be the destiny of France, that after having been agitated under the *Valois*, settled under *Henry*, aggrandized under his successor, victorious or invincible under *Lewis the Great*, it shall be perfectly happy under him who shall not be obliged to conquer, and who shall place all his glory in governing.

AN
ESSAY

UPON

TASTE,

In Subjects of NATURE, and of ART.

A FRAGMENT.

ACCORDING to the present constitution of our being, the soul enjoys three sorts of pleasure. That derived from its very existence; that which results from its union with the body; and that founded upon the turn and prejudices it has received from certain institutions, customs, and habits:

'Tis the different pleasures of the Soul which form the objects of Taste; as, the Beautiful, the Good, the Agreeable, the Simple, the Delicate, the Tender, the Graceful, the inexpressible charm, the Noble, the Grand, the Sublime, the Majestic, &c. For example, when we receive pleasure from the view of

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what we perceive to be useful to ourselves, we say that it is Good ; when we feel pleasure in beholding it, without perceiving any present advantage, we call it Beautiful.

THIS the antients did not properly distinguish ; they considered all the relative qualities of the mind as merely positive : hence those dialogues in which Plato makes Socrates reason, those dialogues so much admired by the antients, are at present insupportable, because they are founded upon a false philosophy ; for all reasonings drawn from the Good, the Beautiful, Perfect, Wise, Foolish, Hard, Soft, Dry, Wet, when treated as Things positive, are now of no weight.

THE sources of the Beautiful, the Good, the Agreeable, &c. are then in ourselves ; and to inquire into their causes, is to inquire into the causes of our mental Pleasures.

LET us then examine the Mind ; let us study it in its Actions, and in its Passions ; let us seek for it in its Pleasures, 'tis there where it shews itself most. Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music, Dancing, the different kinds of games, and in a word the Works

Works of Nature and Art, can give it pleasure: let us see why, how, and when, they give it; let us endeavour to account for our sensations: this may contribute to form the Taste; which is nothing else but an ability of discovering, with delicacy and quickness, the degree of pleasure which every thing ought to give to man.

OF THE
P L E A S U R E S
OF THE
S O U L.

THE Soul, independently of those Pleasures it derives from the senses, has some which it would have without them, and are proper to itself. Such are those it derives from Curiosity, the Ideas of its own Grandeur and Perfections, the Idea of its Existence, opposed to the thought of Annihilation, the Pleasure of embracing the whole of a General Idea, that of viewing a multiplicity of objects at once, and that of comparing, joining, and separating Ideas. These Pleasures are, from the nature of the Soul, independent of the senses, because they belong to every being that thinks: and it is of small consequence to examine here, whether the Soul has these Pleasures, as a substance united to the body, or as separated from it, because it always has them, and they are the objects of Taste: on which account we shall not distinguish

tinguish here the Pleasures that flow from the nature of the Soul, from those that result from its union with the body; these we shall call natural Pleasures, and distinguish them from those which the Soul creates to itself, by certain associations with these natural Pleasures; and in the same manner, and for the same reason, we shall distinguish natural and acquired Taste.

It is proper we should know the sources of those Pleasures of which Taste is the judge. The knowledge of natural and acquired Pleasures may serve to rectify our natural and acquired Taste. We must begin with considering the nature of our being, and know what its Pleasures are, to be able at last to measure those Pleasures, and even sometimes to feel them.

If the Soul had not been united to the body, it would have had clear intelligence, and it is probable that it would have loved what it fully understood: at present we scarcely love any thing that we are thoroughly acquainted with.

Our manner of existing is intirely arbitrary; we might have been made as we are, or

otherwise: but if we had been made otherwise, we should have had different feelings; one organ, more or less, in our machine, would have given rise to another kind of eloquence, another kind of poetry; a different contexture of the same organs would have still produced another sort of poetry: for example, if the constitution of our organs had rendered us capable of a longer attention, all the rules about proportioning the disposition of a subject to the measure of our attention, would have been at an end; if we had been made capable of more penetration, all the rules founded upon the degree of our penetration, would have fallen to the ground. In a word, all the laws formed from the contexture of our machine would be different if our machine was not formed in that manner.

If our sight had been weaker, and more confused, fewer mouldings, and greater uniformity, would have been necessary in the parts of architecture; if it had been more distinct, and the mind capable of embracing more things at once, more ornaments would have been proper in architecture: if our ears had been made as those of certain animals, our
musical

musical instruments must have been much altered. I am very sensible, that the relations which things have among themselves would have subsisted; but the relation which they have with us being changed, things which at present have a certain effect upon us, would have it no more: and as the perfection of art consists in presenting things to us in such a way as to give us the greatest Pleasure possible, there must have been a change made in the arts, because there must have been one made in the manner most proper to give us Pleasure.

WE are at first ready to believe that the knowledge of the different sources of our Pleasures is sufficient to constitute Taste; and that when we know what philosophy has told us on the Subject, we have Taste, and may boldly judge of works. But natural Taste is not a theoretical knowledge; 'tis a quick and exquisite application of rules which we don't even know. It is not necessary to know, that the Pleasure, we receive from any thing we think beautiful, arises from surprize; 'tis enough that it does surprize us, and that it surprizes us as much as it ought, and that neither more nor less.

THUS

THUS what may here be said, and all the precepts that might be given to form the Taste, can only relate immediately and directly to that which is acquired, though it may have an indirect relation to natural Taste: for the acquired Taste affects, changes, augments, and diminishes the natural Taste; as the natural Taste affects, changes, augments, and diminishes that which is acquired.

THE most general definition of Taste, without considering whether it be good or bad, just or not, is that arising from sensation; but this does not prevent its being applied to things that are intellectual, the knowledge of which gives such pleasure to the Soul, that by some philosophers it was considered as the only felicity. The Soul understands by its Ideas, and by its Sensations; it receives Pleasure by those Ideas, and those Sensations: for tho' we oppose Idea to Sensation, yet while it sees a thing, it feels it; and there are no objects so intellectual, that it does not see, or believes it sees, and consequently that are not felt.

Of the MENTAL FACULTIES.*

AMONG the faculties of the mind are genius, good sense, discernment, justness, capacity, and taste.

THE existence of these faculties consists in having the organs well constituted relatively to the things to which these faculties are applied. If this disposition of mind is very particular, it is named a Talent or Capacity for any thing; if it has an intimate connection with certain delicate Pleasures, it is called Taste; if it is a disposition or turn peculiar to a people, it is called their Spirit; as the art of war and agriculture among the Romans, hunting among the savages, &c.

OF CURIOSITY.

THE Soul is made to think, that is, to perceive; now such a being must have Curiosity;

* The title of this article is, *De l'Esprit*, a word which includes not only the Mind, but almost all its faculties. Indeed the difference of the two languages renders it perhaps impossible to do justice to our author in translating this Essay.

for

for as all things are in a chain, where every idea precedes one, and is followed by another, we cannot like to see one thing, without desiring to see another ; and if we had no desire for this, we could have no pleasure in that. Thus, when a part of a picture is shewed us, we wish to see the part that is concealed from us, in proportion to the Pleasure which that part we have seen has given us.

'Tis then the Pleasure which one object gives us that incites us to follow another ; 'tis on this account that the Soul is always in pursuit of novelty, and is never at rest.

Thus, we shall always be certain of pleasing the Mind, by making it see a great many things, or more than it had hoped to see.

By this we may explain the reason why we behold with Pleasure a very regular garden, and at the same time are pleased when we view a rural uncultivated scene : 'tis the same cause which produces these effects.

As we love to see a great many objects, we wish to extend our view, to be in different places and to enlarge our prospects ; in short, the
mind

mind stretches beyond all bounds, and wishes, if I may use the expression, to extend the sphere of its presence: hence arises the pleasure of viewing distant objects. But how is this to be done? in cities our prospect is confined by houses; and in the country, by a thousand obstacles; scarce can we see a few trees. But here Art comes to our assistance and discovers Nature who seeks to be concealed; hence we are in love with Art, and admire her more than Nature, that is, than Nature concealed from our sight: but when we find beautiful situations, when the eye, left at liberty, can range far over the meadows, the rivulets, the hills, and those dispositions of nature, which are in a manner created on purpose to captivate the eye, we are quite otherwise enchanted than when we view the gardens of Le Notre; because Nature is always an original, and Art only copies her. Thus in painting we are better pleased with a rural landscape, than with the most beautiful garden upon earth; because painting chooses Nature only where she is most beautiful, where the eye can extend its view as far as it can reach, and where she may be seen with most pleasure.

THAT which commonly constitutes a great idea, is, when something is said, that makes
us

us perceive a great many others, and discovers to us all at once what we could not have expected but after a great deal of reading.

FLORUS in a few words represents to us all Hanibal's faults: "When he might, says he, " have made use of his victory, he chose rather to enjoy it:" *Cum victoria posset uti, frui maluit.*

He gives us an idea of the whole Macedonian war, when he says, "To have entered in-
" to it was victory:" *Introisse victoria fuit.*

He gives us a view of the whole life of Scipio, when, speaking of his youth, he says, "This will be that Scipio, who grows up for
" the destruction of Africa:" *Hic erit Scipio qui in exitium Africæ crescit.* You think you see a child who increases and grows up like a giant.

IN a word, he makes us see the great character of Hanibal, the state of the world, and all the grandeur of the Roman people, when he says, "Hanibal, a fugitive from Africa,
" fought over all the world an enemy to the
" Roman people:" *Qui, profugus ex Africa, hostem populo Romano quærebat.*

Of

Of the PLEASURES of ORDER.

IT is not enough to present a great many objects to the Soul ; they must be presented with Order : for then we remember what we have seen, and we begin to imagine what we shall see ; our mind congratulates itself on its own extent and penetration : but in a work where there is no Order, the Mind, every moment, finds that Order, into which it wishes to put things, quite embroiled. The series which the author has formed, and that which we make to ourselves, clash together ; the Mind retains nothing, foresees nothing ; it is mortified by the confusion of its ideas, by the ignorance in which it remains ; it is in vain fatigued, and can enjoy no pleasure : on which account, when the design is not to express or shew confusion, they always put a sort of Order in confusion itself ; thus painters make a groupe of their figures ; thus those who paint battles, place, upon the most conspicuous place of the picture, those objects which the eye ought to distinguish, and what is disordered and confused in the most remote and least obvious place.

Of the PLEASURES of VARIETY.

BUT if Order in objects is necessary, Variety is so also: without this the Soul grows languid; for objects, which resemble each other, appear to it to be the same; and if one part of a picture, which is shewn us, should resemble another which we have seen, this object would be new without appearing to be so, and would afford us no Pleasure. And, as the beauties of the Works of Art consist in the Pleasures which they afford us, they ought to be made as fit as possible to vary those Pleasures; the Mind ought to be shewn objects which it has not seen; the sentiment it is inspired with ought to be different from that which it had before.

'TIS thus that histories please us by the Variety of relations; romances, by the Variety of prodigies; theatrical pieces, by the Variety of passions; and that they, who know properly how to instruct us, vary, as much as they can, the uniform strain of instruction,

A LONG uniformity renders any thing insupportable; the same order of periods, a great
while

while continued, quite fatigues us in an oration ; the same numbers, and the same cadences, make a long poem extremely tiresome. If it be true that they have finished the famous road from *Moscow* to *Petersburg*, the traveller must be tired to death, shut up between the two rows of that alley ; and one, who should travel a long time upon the Alps, would come down from them disgusted with situations the most agreeable, and points of view the most charming.

THE Soul loves Variety ; but it does not love it, as we have said, but because it is formed to know and to see : it must then be possible for it to see, and the Variety must permit it to do so ; that is to say, an object must be simple enough to be perceived, and varied enough to be perceived with Pleasure.

THERE are some things which appear varied, and are not so ; and others which appear uniform, and are much varied.

THE Gothic architecture appears extremely varied, but the confusion of its ornaments fatigues us by their smallness ; which makes it impossible for us to distinguish them from each

other, and their number prevents the eye from fixing upon any one of them : so that it disgusts us by those very parts which were intended to render it agreeable.

A BUILDING of the Gothic order is a kind of riddle to the eye which beholds it ; and the Mind is embarrassed in the same way as when an obscure poem is presented to it.

THE Grecian architecture, on the contrary, appears uniform, but as it has as many divisions as it ought, and as are proper to make the Mind see precisely as much as it can without being fatigued, and at the same time enough to give it employment, has that Variety which makes it be beheld with Pleasure.

GREAT objects ought to have great parts ; large men have large arms, great trees have great branches, huge mountains are divided into other mountains bigger and less in proportion ; tis the nature of things which does this.

THE Grecian architecture, which has few divisions and grand ones, imitates the nature of things ; the Soul is struck with a certain majesty, which every where abounds in it.

Tis

'Tis thus that painting divides, into groupes of three or four figures, what it represents in a picture; it imitates Nature; a numerous troop is always divided into platoons; 'tis thus too that the painter makes grand divisions of his light and shade.

Of the PLEASURES of SYMMETRY.

I HAVE said that the Mind loves Variety; however, in most things, it loves to see a certain Symmetry. This seems to imply a sort of contradiction: I thus explain it.

ONE of the principal causes of the Pleasure of our Soul, when it perceives objects, is the facility with which it perceives them; and the reason that makes proportion please the Mind, is, that it saves it trouble, that it gives it ease, and that, so to speak, it cuts the work into halves.

FROM this a general rule is derived; every where that Symmetry is useful to the Soul, and can assist its functions, it is agreeable to it; but wherever it is useless to it, it is insipid because it takes away Variety. Now those things which

we

we see in succession ought to have Variety, for our Mind has no difficulty to perceive them; those, on the contrary, which we perceive all at once, ought to have Symmetry. Thus, as we perceive with one glance of our eye the front of a building, a parterre, a temple, they are with propriety proportioned; which pleases the Mind by that facility which it gives it of embracing all at once the whole object.

As it is necessary that an object, which we ought to see all at once, should be simple, it is necessary too that it be one, and that all its parts have a relation to the principal object: 'tis for this reason also that we love Symmetry, it makes an united whole.

'Tis according to Nature, that a whole be compleat, and the Mind, which sees this whole, wishes that it may have no part imperfect. 'Tis on this account also that we love Symmetry; there must be a sort of poizing or balancing; and a building with one wing, or one wing shorter than another, is as unfinished, as a body with one arm, or one arm too short.

OF CONTRASTS.

THE Soul loves Symmetry, it also loves Contrasts; this requires to be a good deal explained. For example: if Nature requires of painters and sculptors to proportion the parts of their figures, it requires also that they contrast their different attitudes. One foot placed like another, one member extended like another, are insupportable; the reason of it is, because this Symmetry makes the attitudes be almost always the same; which we may observe in Gothic figures, which by this almost always resemble each other; thus there is no more variety in the Works of Art. Besides, Nature has not made us thus, and, as she has given us motion, she has not formed us in our actions and manners like Pagods; and if men thus stiff and constrained are intolerable, what must it be in the productions of Art.

THE attitudes must then be contrasted, especially in works of sculpture, which, naturally languid, cannot be animated but by the force of Contrast and situation.

BUT,

BUT, as we said that the Variety which they have endeavoured to give the Gothic, has made it quite uniform; it has often happened, that that Variety, which they have endeavoured to give us by the means of Contrasts, has become a vicious Symmetry and Uniformity.

THIS is not perceived in certain works of painting and sculpture only, but also in the style of some writers, who, in every phrase, contrast the beginning with the end by perpetual antitheses; such as St. *Augustine* and other authors of the low Latin, and some of our moderns, as St. *Evremont*. The turn of the phrase always the same, and always uniform, displeases extremely; this perpetual Contrast becomes Symmetry, and this opposition always studiously sought for becomes Uniformity.

THE Mind finds so little Variety in it, that when you have seen one part of the phrase, you guess at the other: you see words opposed to each other, but opposed always in the same manner: you see a turn of phrase, but it is always the same.

MANY

MANY painters have fallen into this fault, of putting Contrasts every where, and without Art: so that when one sees one figure, the disposition of those next it can easily be divined: this continual diversity becomes something of a resemblance. Besides, Nature, which places every thing in disorder, never discovers an affectation of a perpetual Contrast; without adding further, that she does not put all bodies in motion, and in a forced motion; she is more various than to do this; she places some in rest, and gives to others different kinds of movement.

IF the intelligent part of the Soul loves Variety, the sensitive part of it is no less fond of it; for the Soul cannot long bear the same situation, because it is joined to a body which can't endure it. That our Soul may be excited, the spirits must flow in the nerves: but there are in this two things, a lassitude in the nerves, and an intermission of spirits which flow no more, or are dissipated from those places where they run.

THUS at length every thing fatigues us, especially great Pleasures: we quit them always with

with as much Pleasure as we began them ; for the fibres, which were the organs of them, have need of rest ; we must make use of others more proper to be of service to us, and, so to speak, make a proper division of our toil.

OUR Soul grows tired with enjoyment ; not to perceive any pleasure at all is to fall into a state of lifeless insensibility, which quite oppresses it. We find a remedy for all this by varying its modifications : it feels, and it does not grow tired.

Of the PLEASURES of SURPRIZE.

THIS disposition of the Soul, which carries it always to different objects, makes it relish all the Pleasures which flow from Surprize ; a sentiment which pleases the Soul by the object which it beholds, and by the suddenness of the action ; for it perceives or feels something which it does not expect, or in a manner which it did not expect.

A THING may surprise us as wonderful, and, at the same time, as new, and also as unexpected ; and, in these last cases, the principal sentiment is united to this accessory one, that the thing is new or unexpected.

'Tis

'Tis by this that games of hazard interest us; they present us with a continued series of unexpected events: 'tis by this that social games please us; they too are a set of unforeseen events, brought about by address joined to chance.

'Tis by this also that we are pleased with theatrical pieces; they are unraveled by degrees, the events are concealed till they happen, new subjects of Surprise are always prepared for us, and they often afford us a sensible pleasure, by shewing the events to be such as we ought to have foreseen they would be. In a word, works of genius are commonly read for no other reason but because they procure an agreeable Surprise, and make amends for the insipidity of conversations that have not this effect.

SURPRISE may be produced either by the object, or by the manner of producing it: for we see an object greater or less than it is in fact, or different from what it is; or we see the same object, but with an additional idea which surprises us. Such, in any thing, is the accessory idea of the difficulty of making it, or the person who made it, or the time when it was made,

made, or the manner how it was made, or some other circumstance connected with it.

SUETONIUS describes the crimes of Nero with a coolness of blood which surprises us, by making us almost believe that he does not feel sufficient horror for what he describes; but he suddenly changes his style, and says, “ The “ universe having suffered such a monster “ fourteen years, at last abandoned him :” *Tale monstrum per quatuordecim annus perpeffus terrarum orbis tandem destituit.* This produces in the Mind different kinds of Surprise : we are surprised at the author’s change of style ; at the discovery of his different manner of thinking ; at his method of relating in so few words one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened : thus the Soul finds a vast number of different sensations that concur to move it, and to inspire it with Pleasure.

OF DIFFERENT CAUSES that produce SENSATION.

WE ought carefully to observe, that one Sensation has commonly more than one Cause in the Mind. ’Tis, if I dare venture to make use

use of the term, a certain dose produced by Force and Variety. Genius consists in knowing how to strike several organs at once; and if we examine different writers, we shall perhaps perceive, that the best of them, and those who have pleased most, are those who have excited in our Mind most Sensations at one time.

PRAY observe the multiplicity of Causes. We like to view a garden finely laid out, better than a confusion of trees. 1. Because our prospect, which would be confined, is not so. 2. Every walk is one, and forms one grand object; whereas, amidst confusion, every tree is one object, and a little one. 3. We see an arrangement which we were not accustomed to see. 4. We are pleased with the pains which has been taken. 5. We admire the care they take perpetually to resist Nature, which by spontaneous productions would put every thing in confusion. This is so true, that a garden quite neglected is intolerable. Sometimes the difficulty of a work, sometimes the easiness of it, pleases us; and, as in a magnificent garden we admire the grandeur and expence of its owner, we observe sometimes with delight,

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that

that they have had the art to please us with small expence and labour.

GAMING pleases us, because it satisfies our avarice, that is, our hope of possessing more: it flatters our vanity by an idea of that preference which fortune gives us, and the notice which others take of our luck: it satisfies our curiosity by presenting a sort of shew to us. In a word, it gives us all the different Pleasures of Surprise.

DANCING pleases us by its nimble activity; by a certain grace; by the beauty and variety of attitudes; by its harmony with the music, the person who dances being, as it were, an instrument which accompanies it: but, above all, it pleases us by a particular disposition of our brain, by which it is so constituted that it refers and associates the idea of all the motions to certain other motions, and the greatest part of the attitudes, to other attitudes.

OF SENSIBILITY.

THINGS almost always please and displease us in different respects. For example, Italian eunuchs ought to give us little Pleasure. 1. Because

cause it is not surprising that, * trim'd as they are, they should sing well ; they are like an instrument from which the workman has cut off wood, to make it produce sounds. 2. Because the passions which they act are too much suspected of being false. 3. Because they are neither of the sex we love, nor of that which we esteem. On the other hand, they may please us, because they preserve a long time the air of youth ; and also because they have a voice extremely flexible, and which is peculiar to themselves. Thus every thing gives us a Feeling which is composed of a great many others, which sometimes weaken and counter-act each other.

THE Soul often forms reasons to itself of its Pleasure ; and it succeeds in this principally by those associations of ideas which it connects with certain objects. Thus, any thing which has pleased us, pleases us still for that very reason that it has pleased us, because we join the new to the old idea : thus, an actress who has pleased us on the stage, pleases us too in a private room ; her voice, her action, the remembrance of having seen her admired, what do I

* Accommodés.

say?—the idea of the Princess joined to that of herself; all this makes a sort of composition, which forms and produces a Pleasure. We are all full of accessory ideas: a lady who should happen to have a great character, and a trifling defect, might make this be regarded as a beauty, and bring it into fashion. The greatest part of those ladies, whom we love, have nothing for them but the prepossession of their birth or their fortune, the honours or esteem of certain people.

OF DELICACY.

PEOPLE of Delicacy are those who, to every idea or to every Taste, join a great many accessory Ideas and Tastes. Indelicate people have only one idea; their Mind can neither compound nor diminish; they neither add nor take away from what Nature has given: while people of Delicacy when in love form to themselves the greatest part of the Pleasures of love.

POLYXENA and Apicius brought to table a great many Sensations unknown to us vulgar eaters; and those who judge with Taste of the works of wit have, and have formed to them-

selves an infinite number of Sensations which other men have not.

Of the JE NE SCAIS QUOI.

THERE is sometimes in persons and things a certain invisible charm, a natural grace, which cannot be defined, and which we have been obliged to call the *I don't know what*. It appears to me, that it is an effect principally derived from Surprise. We are struck with this, that a person pleases us more, than it appeared to us at first that she ought to have done, and we are agreeably surpris'd that she has known how to overcome those defects which our eyes pointed out to us, and which the heart no more believes she had : you see the reason why ordinary women have very often graces, and the handsome ones seldom have them : for a beautiful person commonly produces the contrary effect from that which we expected of her ; she becomes less lovely in our eyes, after having surpris'd us with what is fine, she surprises us with what is not so ; but the impression of what is good is old, that of what is bad is new ; thus handsome people rarely produce strong passions, which are almost constantly reserved for those who have graces, that is to

say, charms which we did not expect, and which we had no reason to expect. Rich dresses are seldom graceful, those of shepherdesses often are so. We admire the majesty of the draperies of *Paul Veronese*; but we are touched with the simplicity of *Raphael*, and the purity of *Corregio*. *Paul Veronese* promises us a great deal, and pays what he promised: *Raphael* and *Corregio* promise little, and pay a great deal; and this pleases us more.

GRACES are more commonly found in the Mind, than the countenance: for a beautiful face appears immediately, and conceals nothing; but the Mind does not shew itself but by little and little, when it chuses it, and as much as it chuses; it can conceal itself to appear again, and produce that sort of Surprise which constitutes Grace.

GRACE is seldomer found in the face than in the manner; for our manner is produced every moment, and can create Surprise: in a word, a woman can be beautiful but one way, she can be graceful a thousand.

THE law of the two sexes has established, among civilized and savage nations, that men
should

should ask, and women only grant : hence it happens, that Grace is more peculiarly attached to the women. As they have all to defend, they have all to conceal ; the least word, the least gesture, every thing which, without shocking the first of duties, shews itself in them, every thing which appears at liberty becomes a grace ; and such is the wisdom of Nature, that that which would be nothing without the law of modesty, becomes of infinite value after that happy law which constitutes the felicity of society.

As constraint and affectation cannot surprise us, Grace is neither found in constrained nor affected manners, but in a certain freedom or ease which is between the two extremes, and the Mind is agreeably surprised to perceive, that they have kept clear of two rocks.

It would seem that our natural manners ought to be the most easy, they are the least so of any : for education, which constrains us, makes us always lose our natural manner ; we are then charmed to see it return,

Nothing pleases us so much in dress, as when it appears in that negligence, or even in

that disorder, which conceals from us those pains which neatness does not require, and which vanity alone could have made us take; and one's wit is never graceful, but when what is said appears to be hit off, and not studied.

WHEN you say things which have cost you pains, you may indeed show that you have wit, but not a graceful wit. To make this appear, you must not seem to perceive it yourself; that others, who from something naturally unaffected and simple in you, did not expect it of you, may be agreeably surpris'd by perceiving it.

THUS Graces are not acquired; to have them, one must be *simple and unaffected*; but how can one study to be so?

ONE of the most beautiful fictions of Homer is that of the girdle, which gave Venus the power of pleasing. Nothing is more proper to make us conceive that magic and power of the Graces, which seem to be given to a person by an invisible power, and are distinguished from beauty itself. Now this girdle could not be given but to Venus; it could not agree with the majestic beauty of Juno; for majesty requires a certain gravity, that is, a constraint opposite to

to the simplicity of the Graces: it could not agree with the proud beauty of Pallas; for pride is contrary to the sweetness of the Graces, and may often be suspected of affectation.

The PROGRESSION of SURPRIZE.

THAT which constitutes great beauties, is, when a thing is such, that the Surprise at first is inconsiderable, that it supports itself, increases, and at last leads us to admiration. The works of Raphael strike little at first sight; he imitates Nature so well, that one is no more at first surprised than when one sees the object itself, which would cause no Surprise at all: but an uncommon expression, the strong colouring or odd attitudes of an inferior painter strike us at first, because we have not been accustomed to see them elsewhere. We may compare Raphael to Virgil, and the Venetian painters, with their constrained attitudes, to Lucan. Virgil, more natural, strikes us at first less, to strike us more afterwards: Lucan strikes immediately, to strike us afterwards less.

THE exact proportion of the famous church of St. Peter makes it appear at first not so great as it is; for we don't know immediately where
to

to begin to judge of its greatness. If it had been narrower, we would have been struck with its length; if it had not been so long, we would have been struck with its breadth. But, in proportion as we examine it, the eye perceives it grow larger, our astonishment increases. We may compare it to the Pyrenees, where the eye, which at first thought it could measure them, discovers mountains beyond mountains, and always loses itself more and more.

It often happens that our Mind feels a Pleasure from a Sentiment which it cannot quite explain; and when a thing appears to it to be absolutely different from what it knows it to be, this gives it a Sentiment of Surprize out of which it cannot extricate itself. For example: the dome of St. Peter's is immense; 'tis known, that Michael Angelo, viewing the Pantheon, which was the largest temple of Rome, said, that he would make one like it, but that he would situate it in the air. He made then after this model the dome of St. Peter's; but he made the pillars so strong, that this dome, which is like a mountain over our heads, appears light to the eye which observes it. The Mind remains uncertain between
what

what it sees, and what it knows to be the case, and is astonished to see a mass so enormous, and so light at the same time.

OF BEAUTIES which result from an
Embarrassment of the SOUL.

THE Mind is often surprised, because it cannot reconcile what it sees with what it has seen. There is in Italy a great lake which they call the *Greater Lake*; 'tis a little sea, the banks of which shew nothing but what is wild. Fifteen miles in the lake there are two islands, a quarter of a mile in circumference, which they call the *Borromees*, which is, in my opinion, the most enchanting abode in the world. The Mind is astonished at the romantic Contrast, and recalls with Pleasure the wonders of romance, where, after having passed over rocks and barren countries, you find yourself in fairy land.

ALL Contrasts strike us, because the opposite objects heighten each other. Thus, when a little man is near a tall one, the little one makes the other appear taller, and the great one makes the other seem less.

THESE

THESE kinds of Surprizes constitute the Pleasure which we find in all Beauties of Opposition, in Antitheses, and such figures. When Florus says, " Sora and Algidum, who would believe it! were formidable to us; Satricum and Corniculum were provinces; we undervalue the Boritians, the Verulians, yet we gloried in triumphing over them; Præneste, where our pleasure-houses now are, was the subject of vows which we went to make at the capitol:" this author, I say, points out to us, at the same time, the grandeur of the Romans and the smallness of their beginnings, and our astonishment is raised by both these.

WE may remark here how great a difference there is between antitheses of ideas and antitheses of expression. The antithesis of expression is not concealed; that of ideas is so: the one always assumes the same appearance; the other changes it as it pleases: the one is varied; the other not.

THE same Florus, speaking of the Samnites, says, " that their cities were destroyed in such a way that it was difficult to find out at present what could have been the subject of so many

“ many triumphs :” *Ut non facile appareat materia quatuor & viginti triumphorum :* and by the same words which point out to us the destruction of this people, he makes us perceive the greatness and obstinacy of their courage.

WHEN we want to hinder ourselves from laughing, our laughter increases, on account of that Contrast which is between the situation in which we find ourselves, and that in which we ought to be : in the same way as when we perceive in a face a very great fault, as, for example, a very large nose, we laugh because we see a Contrast with the other features of the face, which ought not to be. Thus Contrasts are the cause of faults, as well as beauties. When we perceive that they are without any reason, that they heighten or discover another fault, they are the great causes of ugliness, which, when it strikes us suddenly, can excite a certain joy in our soul, and make us laugh. If our Mind views it as a misfortune in the person who possesses it, it can excite pity : if it views it with the idea of what may hurt us, and with an idea of comparison with what used to move us and excite our desires, it views it with a sentiment of aversion.

IN

IN the same way, our thoughts, when they contain an opposition contrary to good sense, when this opposition is common and easily found out, don't please us, and are faults, because they occasion no Surprise; and if, on the contrary, they are too much studied, they don't please us neither. In a work, we ought to be struck with them because they are there, and not because the writer has laboured to shew them; for then we are only surprized at the folly of the author.

ONE of the things which pleases us most is the Simple; but 'tis also the most difficult style to acquire: the reason of which is, because it is precisely betwixt the Noble and the Low, and it is very difficult to be always going by it without falling into it.

MUSICIANS have acknowledged, that the music, which is easiest sung, is most difficult to compose; a certain proof that our Pleasures, and that Art which supplies us with them, have certain limits.

To read the pompous verses of Corneille, and the easy natural ones of Racine, who
would

would imagine that Corneille composed with ease, and Racine with a great deal of trouble?

WHAT is low, is the Sublime of the vulgar, who are pleased to see a thing made for them, and adapted to their capacity.

THE ideas which occur to those who are well educated, and have great minds, are either simple, or noble, or sublime.

WHEN a thing is pointed out to us with circumstances which add to its grandeur, this appears noble to us: this is especially perceived in comparisons, where the Mind ought always to gain, and never to lose: for they ought always to add somewhat to make the thing appear greater, or, if grandeur be not the object, finer and more delicate; but particular care must be taken not to point out any connexion it may have with what is low; for the Mind would have concealed this if it had discovered it.

As the aim is to represent things in a delicate way, the Mind likes better to compare a manner to a manner, an action to an action,
than

than a thing to a thing, as a hero to a lion, a woman to a star, a swift man to a stag.

MICHAEL ANGELO is the greatest master for giving a nobleness to all his subjects. In his famous Bacchus he does not do like the Flemish painters, who represent to us a figure almost falling, and, so to speak, in the air. This would be unworthy of the majesty of a God. He paints him firm upon his legs, but he so happily gives him the gay air of one who is drunk, and such a pleasure in viewing the liquor, which he pours into his cup, that there is nothing so admirable.

IN that picture of the Passion which is in the gallery of Florence, he has painted the Virgin standing, who beholds her crucified son, without grief, without pity, without regret, without tears. He supposes her instructed in this great mystery, and by that makes her bear with grandeur the view of his death.

THERE are none of Michael Angelo's works in which he has not put something noble. We find even *the Great* in his sketches, as in those verses which Virgil has not finished.

JULIO

JULIO Romano, in the Chamber of Giants at Mantua, where he has represented Jupiter thundring, makes all the Gods appear terrified ; but Juno is near Jupiter, she points out to him, with an undaunted air, a giant at whom he should dart his thunder : by this he gives her an air of grandeur which the other Deities have not : the nearer they are to Jove, the bolder they are, and this is very natural ; for in a battle, fear ceases near him who has the advantage * * * * *

N E W

PERSIAN LETTERS,

Added to the LAST EDITION

O F

President MONTESQUIEU's

W O R K S.

WILLIAM I. K. T. E. R. S.

BOSTON

WILLIAM I. K. T. E. R. S.

WILLIAM I. K. T. E. R. S.

WILLIAM I. K. T. E. R. S.

N E W

PERSIAN LETTERS, &c.

L E T T E R XV.

The FIRST EUNUCH to JARON the BLACK
EUNUCH at ERZERON.

MAY Heaven again bring thee safe to these parts, and guard thee from every danger ! Tho' I have scarce ever known that engagement which is called friendship, and have wrapped myself quite up in myself, yet thou hast made me feel that I have a heart ; and while I was as brass to all the other slaves who were under my command, I with pleasure beheld thy infancy grow up.

THE time came when my master cast his eyes upon thee. Nature had not yet whispered its dictates, when the cruel iron separated thee from what was natural. I will not say whether I lamented thee, or whether I felt a

secret pleasure in beholding thee elevated even to my own condition. I appeased thy tears and thy cries. Methought I saw thee born a second time, and quit a state of slavery where thou must always have obeyed, to enter upon one where thou oughtest always to command. I took care of thy education. Severity, always inseparable from giving instructions, kept thee a long time from knowing that thou wast dear to me. Thou wast so however: and I will tell thee, that I loved thee as a father loves his son, if these names of father and son could be suitable to our destiny.

THOU art about to pass through countries inhabited by Christians, who have never believed. It is impossible but that thou must there contract some impurities. How can the Prophet propitiously behold thee in the midst of so many millions of his enemies. I wish my master, when he returns, would make a pilgrimage to Mecca. You would both purify yourselves in the land of angels.

From the Seraglio at Ispahan, the 10th
of the Moon Gemmadi, 1711.

LET.

L E T T E R . XXII.

JARON to the FIRST EUNUCH.

IN proportion as Usbek is removed from the Seraglio, he turns his head towards those women who are consecrated to him: he sighs, he sheds tears: his grief increases, his suspicions grow strong. He wants to augment the number of their guardians: he is about to send me back, with all the Blacks that accompany him. He fears nothing for himself; he is anxious for what is a thousand times more dear to him than himself.

I COME then to live under thy laws, and to share thy toils. Great God! how many things are necessary to render one man happy! Nature seemed at the same time to have placed women in a state of dependance, and to have freed them from it. Disorder arose among the two sexes, because their rights were reciprocal. We have entered upon a new plan of harmony: we have put hatred between the women and us; and love between men and women.

My brow is about to become severe, I shall assume a gloomy air, joy shall be banished from my lips ; my external appearance shall be composed, my mind unquiet and uneasy. I shall not wait for the wrinkles of old age, to shew all its peevishness.

I SHOULD have taken pleasure in following my master to the west ; but my will is his property. He wants me to guard his women : I will guard them with fidelity. I know how to conduct myself with the sex, which, when it is not permitted to be vain, becomes proud ; and which it is less easy to humble than to annihilate. I prostrate myself in thy sight.

From Smirna, the 12th of the Moon
Zilcade, 1711.

L E T-

L E T T E R LXXVII.

I B B E N to U S B E K at P A R I S.

MY dear Usbek, it appears to me, that to a true Mussulman misfortunes are not so much chastisements as threatnings. Those days are happy ones indeed which lead us to expiate our offences. 'Tis the time of prosperity which ought to be abridged. To what purpose does all our impatience serve, but to discover that we want to be happy independently of him who imparts felicity to us, because he is felicity itself.

IF a being is composed of two essential parts, and the necessity of preserving their union is the strongest mark of submission to the orders of the Creator, this may be made a religious law. If this necessity of preserving their union is the best surety of the actions of men, it may be made a civil law †.

From Smirna, the last day of the Moon
Saphar, 1715.

† To understand this Letter, it must be observed, that it is an answer to the 76th, in which Usbek argues for the lawfulness of suicide when a person is extremely unfortunate.

L E T-

L E T T E R X C I .

U S B E K t o R U S T A N a t I S P A H A N .

THERE has appeared here a person assuming the character of Ambassador from Persia, who insolently exposes to ridicule the two greatest Kings of the earth. He brings to the French Monarch presents, which ours would not offer to a King of Irimett or Georgia; and by his low avarice he has dishonoured the majesty of two empires.

HE hath rendered himself ridiculous before a people which pretends to be the most polite of any in Europe, and made it be said in the west, that the King of Kings reigns only over Barbarians.

HE hath received honours which he seemed to wish had been refused him: and as if the Court of France had the Persian grandeur more at heart than he himself had, it has made him appear with dignity before a people which despises him.

T E L L

TELL not this at Ispahan; spare the head of a wretch. I don't want that our ministers should punish him for their own imprudence, and the unworthy choice which they have made.

From Paris, the last of the Moon
Gemmadi, 1715.

L E T T E R CXI.

USBEK to * * *.

THE reign of the late King was so long, that the end had made the beginning of it be forgot. 'Tis the fashion at present only to be taken up about those events which happened during his minority, and no body reads any thing now but the memoirs of those times.

HERE is a speech which one of the Generals of the city of Paris made in a council of war; and, I confess, I can perceive very little in it.

I

“ GENTLE-

" GENTLEMEN, tho' our troops have been
 " repulsed with loss, I believe it won't be dif-
 " ficult for us to repair this misfortune. I
 " have composed six couplets of a song ready
 " to be published, which, I'm persuaded, will
 " restore our affairs to an equilibrium. I have
 " made choice of some excellent voices, which
 " issuing from the cavity of certain strong
 " breasts, will wonderfully move the people.
 " They are set to an air which hitherto has
 " had a singular effect. If this does not do,
 " we'll publish a print representing Mazarin as
 " hanged.

" LUCKILY for us, he does not speak good
 " French, and so murders it, that it is impos-
 " sible but that his affairs must decline. We
 " don't fail to make it be taken notice of to the
 " people, with what a ridiculous accent he
 " pronounces. A few days ago we so much ri-
 " diculed a blunder which he had made in
 " grammar, that it has been made a joke of in
 " every street.

" I HOPE, before eight days, the people will
 " make the name of Mazarin a general word
 " to express all beasts of burden and carriage.

" SINCE

“ SINCE our defeat, our music about original
 “ sin has so vexed him, that, not to see his
 “ party reduced to one half, he has been ob-
 “ liged to send back all his pages.

“ RECOVER your spirits then, have courage
 “ and assure yourselves that we will drive
 “ him over the mountains by the force of
 “ our hisses.”

From Paris, the 4th of the Moon
 Chahban, 1718.

LETTER CXXIV.

USBEK to RHEDI at VENICE.

WHAT can be the motive of that im-
 mense liberality which Princes lavish
 upon their subjects? Do they want to attach
 them to them? They have already gained
 them as much as they can. And, besides, if
 they gain some of their subjects by bribing
 them, they must lose an infinite number of
 others by impoverishing them.

WHEN

WHEN I reflect on the situation of Princes always surrounded with avaricious and insatiable men, I can't help pitying them; and I pity them still more, when they have not courage to refuse demands which are always burdensome to those who ask nothing.

I NEVER hear people talk of the liberality of Princes, of the favours and pensions which they grant, without giving way to a thousand reflexions: a crowd of ideas present themselves to my mind: methinks I hear this decree published:

“ THE unwearied courage of some of our
 “ subjects in asking pensions from us, having,
 “ without ceasing, fatigued our royal magni-
 “ ficence, we have at last yielded to the mul-
 “ titude of requests presented to us, which
 “ have hitherto been the greatest uneasiness of
 “ the throne. They have represented to us,
 “ that since our accession to the throne, they
 “ have never failed to be at our levee; and
 “ that as we passed along, we have always seen
 “ them immoveable as posts; and that they
 “ have raised themselves as much as possible
 “ above the shoulders of the highest, that they
 “ might

“ might behold our Serenity. We have also
 “ received several petitions from some of the
 “ fair sex, supplicating us to observe, that it is
 “ notorious that they are of a very reserved
 “ conversation: and some of them who are
 “ very antient, shaking their heads, have pray-
 “ ed us to remember that they have been the
 “ ornaments of the Courts of the Kings our
 “ predecessors; and that if the Generals of their
 “ armies rendered the state formidable by
 “ their military actions, they rendered the
 “ Court no less so by their intrigues. Desiring
 “ therefore to treat these suppliants kindly,
 “ and grant them all their petitions, we have
 “ commanded what follows:

“ THAT every labourer, having five child-
 “ ren, shall daily retrench the fifth part of the
 “ bread which he gives them. We also enjoin
 “ fathers of families to make as exact a dimi-
 “ nution from each in their house, as can be.

“ WE expressly forbid all those who apply
 “ themselves to improve their estates, or who
 “ let them out in farms, to make any repairs
 “ in them whatsoever.

“ WE

“ WE also order, that all persons of low
 “ trades, and mechanics, who have never been
 “ at the levee of our Majesty, shall hereafter
 “ purchase no cloaths for themselves, their
 “ wives and their children, but once in every
 “ four years: further, strictly forbidding them
 “ those little rejoicings which they used to ce-
 “ lebrate in their families upon the principal
 “ holidays of the year.

“ AND, forasmuch as we are informed, that
 “ the greatest part of the citizens of our good
 “ towns are intirely busied in providing an
 “ establishment for their daughters, who have
 “ rendered themselves respectable in our state
 “ only by a dull and joyless modesty; We
 “ order, that they delay marrying them, till such
 “ time as their daughters, having attained to the
 “ age appointed by the ordinances, may have
 “ it in their power to force them to it. We
 “ charge our magistrates not to take care of
 “ the education of their children.”

From Paris, the first of the Moon
 Chalval, 1718.

L E T.

LETTER CXLIV.

USBK to RICA.

I MET, a few days ago, in a house in the country whither I had gone, with two learned men who are very celebrated here. Their characters appeared to me remarkable. The conversation of the one, nicely weighed, might be reduced to this: What I say is true, because I have said it. The conversation of the second had another aim: What I have not said is not true, because I have not said it.

I LIKED the first well enough: for that a man should be positive, is absolutely nothing to me; but that he should be impertinent, is a great deal. The first defends his opinions; 'tis his property: the second attacks the opinions of others; and this is the property of all the world.

O MY dear Usbek, how ill does vanity serve those who have a stronger dose of it, than is

L

necessary

necessary for the preservation of nature. These people seem to want to be admired by being disagreeable to us. They want to be superior to, and they are not even upon a level with, the rest of the world.

MEN of modesty, approach, that I may embrace you ! You are the delight and joy of social life. You believe that you possess no accomplishments, and I tell you that you possess every one. You imagine that you make no body appear little ; and yet you make all the world do so. And when I compare you in my mind with those imperious and conceited men whom I see every where, I place them at your feet.

From Paris, the 22d of the Moon
Chahban, 1720.

L E T.

L E T T E R CXLV.

UsBEK to * * *.

A MAN of wit is commonly nice in his choice of company. He likes few people: he grows tired and dull, when he is with any of that vast number of people whom he is pleased to call bad company; it is impossible but he must make them at least in some degree perceive his disgust: all these then become his enemies.

SURE of pleasing if he would, he often neglects to do it.

HE is naturally inclined to criticise, because he perceives more things than others do, and is more struck with them.

HE almost always ruins his fortune, because his genius supplies him with a vast number of methods of doing it.

L 2.

HE

HE fails in his enterprizes, because he risks a great deal. His foresight, which is always very great, makes him perceive objects which are at too vast a distance ; and, besides, in the infancy of a project, he is less struck with the difficulties which attend the thing itself, than with those expedients which he finds out, and which he draws from himself.

HE neglects small details, upon which however the success of almost all great affairs depends.

THE man of middling abilities, on the contrary, makes an advantage of every thing : he perceives clearly, that nothing ought to be lost by negligence.

THE public approbation commonly attends the middling genius. People like to add to the one, and are delighted to take away from the other. While envy bursts upon the one, and people excuse nothing in him ; every thing is overlooked in the other, vanity declares for him.

BUT if a man of wit has so many disadvantages, what shall we say of the hard condition of men of learning?

I NEVER think of it, without recalling to my mind a letter of one of them to a friend of his. Here it is:

S I R,

“ I AM a man busied every night in looking
“ through telescopes of thirty feet ‘at those
“ great bodies which roll over our heads; and
“ when I want to refresh myself, I take my
“ small microscopes, and observe a little worm
“ or a mite.

“ I AM not rich, and have only one cham-
“ ber. I dare not even light a fire in it, be-
“ cause I keep my thermometer there, and the
“ unusual heat would make it rise. Last win-
“ ter I thought to have died of cold; and
“ tho’ my thermometer, which was at the
“ highest degree, gave me warning that my
“ hands were about to freeze, I did not alter
“ my method; and I have the comfort of
“ being exactly informed of the most insen-

“ fible alterations of the weather all the laſt
“ year.

“ I KEEP very little company ; and of all
“ the people that I ſee, I don't know one.
“ But there is one man at Stockholm, ano-
“ ther at Leipſick, another at London, whom
“ I have never ſeen, and whom I ſhall cer-
“ tainly never ſee, with whom I keep ſo exact
“ a correſpondence, that I don't allow a poſt
“ to paſs without writing to them.

“ BUT tho' I know no body in the neigh-
“ bourhood, I bear ſo bad a character in it,
“ that I'll be at laſt obliged to change my
“ place of reſidence. About five years ago,
“ I was rudely attacked by one of my neigh-
“ bours for having diſſected a dog which, ſhe
“ pretended, belonged to her. A butcher's
“ wife, who was preſent, joined her party ;
“ and while the one loaded me with reproach-
“ es, the other threw ſtones at me and Dr. * *
“ who was with me, and who received a ter-
“ rible ſtroke upon the Os frontal and occipital,
“ by which the ſeat of his reaſon got a great
“ ſhock.

“ SINCE

" SINCE that time, whenever a dog wan-
 " ders from the street, 'tis immediately de-
 " cided that it has passed through my hands.
 " A good woman, who had lost a small one,
 " which she said she loved better than her
 " children, came t'other day and fainted in my
 " chamber; and, because she did not find
 " her dog, carried me before a magistrate. I
 " believe I never shall be freed from the ma-
 " lice of those importunate women, who, with
 " their shrill voices, perpetually stun my ears
 " with the funeral orations of all the automa-
 " tons which have died these ten years. I
 " am, &c."

ALL the learned were formerly accused of
 magic; I am not surpris'd at it. Every one
 said to himself, I have carried natural talents
 as far as they can go, and yet a certain learned
 man has advantages over me: there must be
 something devilish in it.

AT present these kind of accusations have
 fallen into disrepute. They have taken another
 way: and a man of learning can hardly escape
 the reproach of irreligion or heresy. In vain

is he absolved by the people ; the wound is made, it will never close up. 'Tis always a tender place. An adversary may come thirty years after, and modestly say to him, " God " forbid that I should affirm, that that of " which you are accused is true, but you have " been obliged to defend yourself." 'Tis thus that they turn even his justification against him.

IF he has wrote some history, and discovered a nobleness of genius, and uprightness of heart, they stir up a thousand persecutions against him. They endeavour to instigate the magistrate against him for a fact which happened a thousand years ago. And they would at least have his pen be kept captive, if it be not venal.

MORE happy, however, than those base men who abandon their fidelity for a small pension ; who, taking all their impostures in the detail, don't sell them for a farthing a-piece ; who overturn the constitution of the Empire, diminish the rights of one power, augment those of another, give to Princes, take away from the people, revive obsolete claims, flatter the fashionable passions of the times, and the vices of the throne ; imposing
upon

upon posterity by so much the more unworthily, as it has fewer means of detecting the falshood of their testimony.

BUT 'tis not enough for an author to undergo all these insults; 'tis not enough for him to have been in continual uneasiness about the success of his work. At last that work which cost him so much appears. It leads him into disputes from all parts. And how can he avoid them? He had an opinion; he supported it by his writings; he did not know that one at two hundred leagues distance from him had said the direct contrary. However, war is declared on this account. Besides, can he expect to acquire any consideration? No; he is at most only esteemed by those who have applied to the same science that he himself has. A philosopher has a sovereign contempt for a man who has his head loaded with facts; and he in his turn is looked upon as a visionary by him who has a good memory.

As for those who make profession of a disdainful ignorance, they would wish that all the human race was buried in that oblivion in which they themselves will be.

A

A MAN who does not possess a particular talent satisfies himself by despising it : he removes this obstacle which stands between him and merit ; and by this he finds himself upon a level with him whose labours he is afraid of.

IN a word, a privation of pleasure, and a loss of health, must be joined to an uncertain reputation.

From Paris, the 26th of the Moon
Chahbab, 1720.

L E T-

L E T T E R CLVII.

ZACHY to USBEK at PARIS.

OH heavens! a Barbarian has affronted me even in his manner of punishing me! He hath inflicted upon me that punishment which begins by giving an alarm to modesty; that punishment which humbles one to the greatest degree; that punishment which carries one back, so to speak, to infancy.

MY soul, at first annihilated with shame, reassumed its consciousness, and began to disdain itself, when my cries made the walls of my apartment resound. I was heard asking pardon of the vilest of mankind, and trying to move his compassion, in proportion as he was more inexorable.

SINCE this time, his insolent and servile soul hath got the ascendant over mine. His presence, his looks, his words, all misfortunes combine to oppress me. When I am alone, I have at least the consolation of shedding
tears:

tears: but when he presents himself to my view, fury seizes me; I find it impotent, and I fall into despair.

THE tyger dares to tell me, that thou art the author of all these barbarities. He would deprive me of my very love, and profane even the sentiments of my heart: when he pronounces to me the name of him I love, I am able to complain no longer; I can only die.

I HAVE supported thy absence, and I have preserved my love by the strength of this very love. Nights, days, moments, all have been for thee; I was proud of my love itself, and thine made me be respected here. But at present no, I can no longer bear that humiliation into which I am fallen. If I am innocent, return to love me: return, if I am guilty, that I may expire at thy feet.

From the Seraglio of Ispahan, the Second of the Moon Maharram, 1720.

L E T.

L E T T E R C L V I I I .

Z E L I S to U S B E K at P A R I S .

AT the distance of a thousand leagues, you condemn me as guilty. At a thousand leagues distance from me, you punish me.

WHAT tho' a barbarous eunuch lays his vile hands upon me; he acts by your order: 'tis the tyrant who injures me, and not he who executes the tyranny.

You may, as your fancy dictates to you, redouble my cruel usage. My heart is tranquil, since it can no more love you. Your soul degrades itself, and you become cruel. Be assured that you are not happy. Adieu.

From the Seraglio at Ispahan, the Second of the Moon Maharram.

L E T -

L E T T E R CLX.

SOLIM to USBEK at PARIS.

I HAVE taken my measures: thy misfortunes are about to disappear: I go to punish.

I ALREADY feel a secret joy: my soul and thine shall soon be appeased: We go to exterminate vice, and to make innocence tremble.

O YE who seem only to be made, that you may be acquainted with no sensual pleasure, and to disdain your very desires! eternal victims of modesty and shame! why can't I introduce you, in vast numbers, into this unhappy seraglio, to astonish you with the blood I am going to shed!

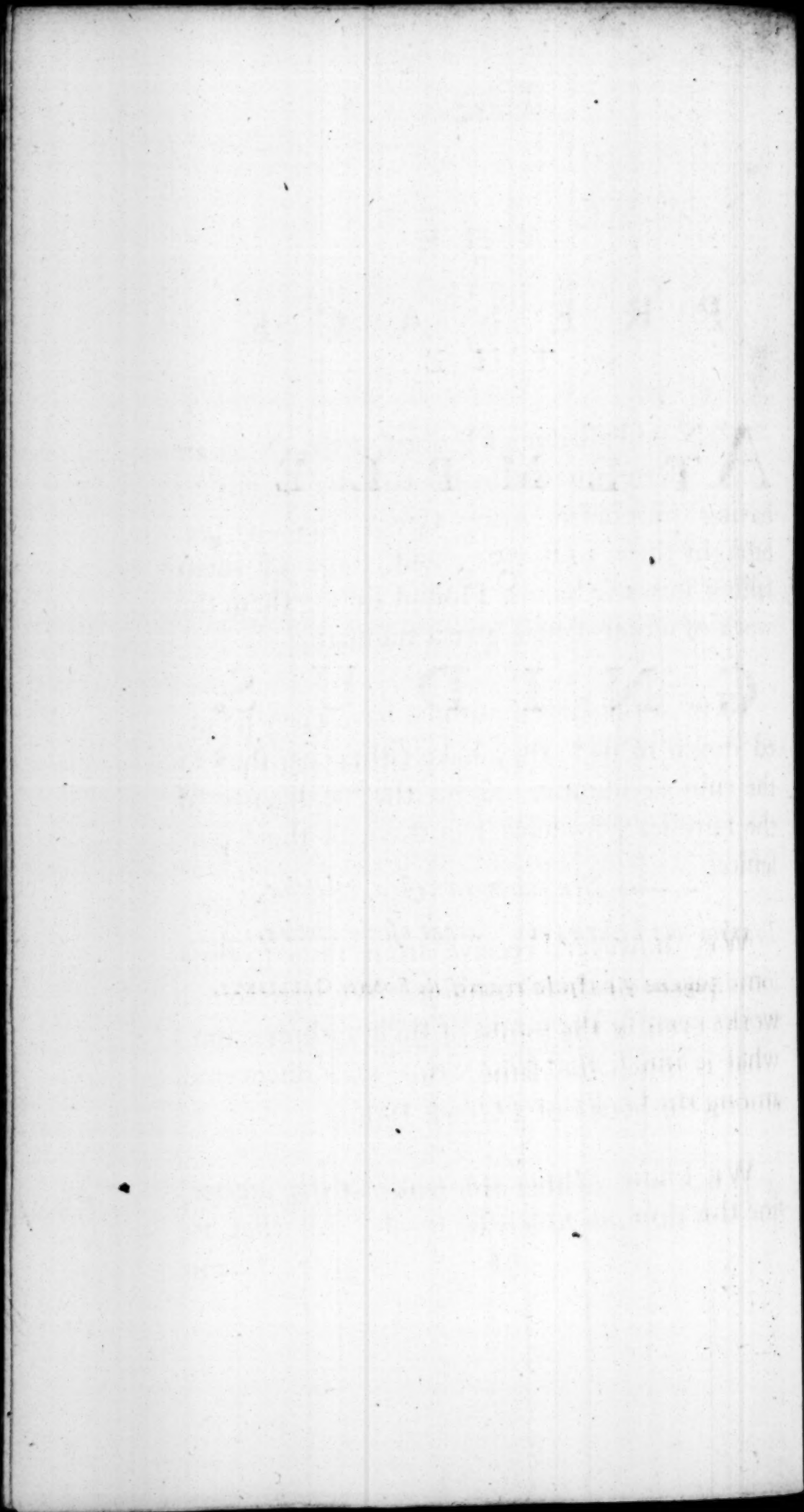
From the Seraglio at Ispahan, the 8th
of the Moon Rebiab, 1720.

THE

T H E
T E M P L E
O F
G N I D U S.

———*Non murmura vestra, columbæ;
Brachia non bederæ, non vincant oscula conchæ.*

Fragment of an Epithalamium of the Emperor GALLIENUS.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

AN ambassador of France at the Ottoman Porte, known by his taste for literature, having purchased many Greek manuscripts, brought them to France; and, some of them falling into my hands, I found among them the work of which I here give a translation.

Few of the Greek authors have been handed down to us: they have either perished in the ruin of libraries, or by the negligence of the families who have had them in their possession.

WE, however, receive from time to time some pieces of these treasures. We have found works even in the tombs of their authors; and, what is much the same, this was discovered among the books of a Greek Bishop.

WE know neither the name of the author, nor the time in which he lived. All that we

M

can

can say of him is, that he was not anterior to Sappho, since he quotes her in his work.

As to my translation, it is a faithful one. The beauties that were not in my author, I supposed, did not deserve the name of beauties; and I have often chosen a less lively manner of expression, in order the better to express his thought.

I HAVE been encouraged to undertake this translation by the success which has attended that of Tasso. He who performed it will not be offended at my having followed his example. He has there distinguished himself in such a manner, as to be under no apprehensions from those whom he has inspired with the warmest spirit of emulation.

THIS little romance is a kind of picture in which are selected the most agreeable objects. The public will here find smiling images, magnificent descriptions, and ingenuous sentiments.

IT has the marks of an original; which has made the critics demand, after what model it was formed. This must greatly enhance its merit,

merit, especially as the work is, in other respects, far from being despicable.

SOME of the learned have not discovered in it what they term art ; and they alledge, that it is not written according to the rules : but if the work has pleased, it is a proof that the heart has not communicated to them all its rules.

A MAN who attempts a translation, cannot patiently bear that others should not esteem his author as much as he does himself ; and I confess that these gentlemen have often filled me with a furious resentment : but I desire them to leave the young men to judge of a book, which, in whatsoever language it was written, was certainly wrote for their use. I intreat them, therefore, not to trouble themselves with their decisions ; for none but the heads that are well curled and powdered, can know all the merit of the Temple of Gnidus.

WITH respect to the fair sex, to whom I owe the few happy moments I can reckon in my life, I heartily wish that this work may please them. I admire them still ; and their

vents all their wishes; their flocks feed without number; the birds incessantly sing, so that you would think the woods were vocal; rivulets murmur in the plains; a gentle heat renders every thing blooming; and the air the people breathe inspires only pleasure.

NEAR the city is the palace of Venus, the foundations of which were laid by Vulcan; who laboured for his faithless spouse while he strove to make her forget the cruel affront he had given her before the Gods.

IT would be impossible for me to give an idea of the beauties of this palace; for none but the Graces can describe what they have performed. Gold, azure, rubies, diamonds, shine on all sides; but here I paint only riches, and not beauty.

THE gardens are enchanting; they are under the care of Flora and Pomona, and are cultivated by the nymphs. Fruits spring up under the hand that plucks them; and blossoms succeed the fruit. When Venus walks in them surrounded by her Gnidians, you would think that in their wanton sports they would
destroy

destroy these delightful gardens ; but by a secret virtue every thing is instantly repaired.

VENUS loves to see the sprightly dances of the girls of Gnidus. Her nymphs mingle with them ; the Goddess herself bears a part in their sports ; she strips herself of her majesty, sits in the midst of them, and sees joy and innocence reign in their hearts.

AT a distance is discovered a spacious meadow enamelled with flowers. The shepherd comes to gather them, with his shepherdesses ; but that which she finds is always the most beautiful, and it is believed that this happens by the express design of Flora.

THE Cephissus waters this meadow, and runs through it with a thousand turnings. The river God stops the fugitive shepherdesses, and will oblige them to give him the tender kiss they had promised him.

WHEN the nymphs approach his banks, he stops, and the waves which fly find those that are incapable of flying. But when one of them bathes, he is still more amorous ; his waters wind about her limbs ; he sometimes

rises, the better to give her his embraces ; he lifts her up ; he flies ; he takes her with him. Her timid companions begin to weep : but he supports her upon his waves, and charmed with the precious burden, leads her over his liquid plain : at length loth to part with her, he conducts her slowly to the bank, and restores comfort to her companions.

ON the side of the meadow is a myrtle grove, where the paths make a variety of turnings. The lovers there come to recount their pains ; and Love, who amuses them, always conducts them through the most secret paths.

NOT far from thence is an antient and sacred wood, thro' which the light can with difficulty enter. Oaks, that seem immortal, bear up their heads to the heavens, which conceal them from our view. We there feel a religious fear ; you would say that this was the abode of the Gods, ere man had sprung from the earth.

ON coming to an opening where the day breaks in, the people ascend a little hill, on which is the temple of Venus, than which the universe has nothing more sacred.

IN

IN this temple Venus first saw her Adonis, and the poison thrilled through the heart of the Goddess. What! said she, do I then love a mortal? Alas! I find I adore him. Let them no more address their vows to me; Adonis is the only Deity at Gnidus.

IT was in this place that she assembled the Loves, when piqued with a rash distrust, she consulted them. She was in doubt whether she should expose herself naked to the view of the Trojan shepherd. She concealed her girdle under her hair; her nymphs sprinkled her with perfumes; she mounted her chariot drawn by swans, and arrived in Phrygia. The shepherd hesitated between Juno and Pallas; he saw her, and his looks were fixed and dying: the golden apple fell at the feet of the Goddess; he attempted to speak, and his disorder decided the dispute.

IT was to this temple that the young Psyche came with her mother, when Cupid, who flew about the golden cieling, was himself surprised by one of her glances, and felt the pain he had made others suffer. Thus do I wound, said he, I can neither support my bow nor my
arrows.

arrows. He then sunk down on the breast of Psyche, and cried, Oh! I now begin to feel that I am the God of Pleasure.

WHEN the people enter this temple, they perceive their hearts possessed by a secret charm: the soul is filled with that ravishing delight, which the Gods themselves never feel, but when they are in their celestial abodes.

WHATEVER is most smiling in nature is joined to every thing that art can invent as most noble, and most worthy of the Gods.

A HAND, which was doubtless immortal, has every where adorned the place with paintings that seem to breathe. We there see the birth of Venus; the rapture of the Gods who saw her; her embarrassment at appearing naked, and that modesty which is the first of the Graces.

WE there see the amours of Mars and that Goddess. The painter has represented the God of War in his chariot, in which he appears fierce, and even terrible: Fame flies before him; Fear and Death march, followed by his horses covered with foam; he enters the
throng,

throng, and a thick dust begins to hide him from our view. In another place we see him laid languishingly on a bed of roses, smiling on Venus ; and you would not know him, were it not for some traces of the divinity which still remain. The Pleasures are employed in making wreaths and garlands, with which they bind the two lovers ; their eyes melt in softness ; they sigh, and only attentive to each other, are regardless of the little Cupids that play about them.

THERE is a separate apartment, where the painter has represented the marriage of Vulcan and Venus : all the celestial court are there assembled : the God appears less gloomy, but as pensive as usual. The Goddess looks with an air of coldness on the common joy ; she negligently gives him a hand which she seems unwilling to resign : she casts another way looks expressive of pain, and turns towards the Graces.

In another picture we see Juno performing the marriage-ceremony. Venus takes the cup to swear an eternal fidelity to Vulcan : the Gods smile, and Vulcan hears her with pleasure.

ON

ON the other side we see the impatient God drawing along his divine spouse, who makes such resistance, that one would imagine her to be the daughter of Ceres, whom Pluto is going to ravish, if the eye that had seen Venus could ever be deceived.

AT some distance, we see her carried away towards the nuptial bed. The Gods follow in crowds ; the Goddesses disputes, and endeavours to escape from the arms of those who hold her. Her robe flies from her knees ; the linen flutters : but Vulcan repairs this beautiful disorder, and is more attentive to conceal than ardent to seize.

IN short, we see her just laid on the bed prepared by Hymen ; Vulcan draws the curtains, and thinks of keeping her there for ever. The importunate throng retire ; and he rejoices at seeing them go. The Goddesses play together : but the Gods appear dejected ; and Mars's melancholy has something gloomy, like the pangs of jealousy.

CHARMED with the magnificence of her temple, the Goddess herself has established the
worship

worship performed there : she has regulated its ceremonies, instituted festivals, and is at the same time the deity and the priestess.

THE worship paid her, almost over the whole earth, is rather a profanation than a religion. She has temples, in which all the maids in other cities prostitute themselves to her honour, and acquire a portion from the profits of prostitution. She has others where every married woman goes once in her life to give up herself to him who has singled her out, and where she throws into the sanctuary the money she has received. There are others again, where the courtezans of all countries, more honoured than the matrons, go to make their offerings. There is, in short, another, where the men render themselves eunuchs, and dress themselves like women, in order to serve in the sanctuary, consecrating themselves to the Goddess, and those of her sex.

BUT she resolved, that the people of Gnidus should have a purer worship, and render her honours more worthy her acceptance. Her sacrifices there are sighs, and her offerings a tender heart. Every lover addresses his vows to his mistress, and Venus receives them for her.

WHERE-

WHEREVER beauty is found, they pay it the same adoration as to Venus; for beauty, like her, is divine.

WITH hearts inflamed with love they enter the Temple, and embrace at the altars of Fidelity and Constancy.

THOSE who are treated with cruelty come there to vent their sighs: they feel their torments diminish, and find their hearts filled with flattering hope.

JEALOUSY is a passion that may be felt, though it ought to be concealed. A man there adores in secret the caprices of his mistress, as they adore the decrees of the Gods, which become more just when we presume to utter our complaints.

AMONG the divine favours are reckoned the fire, the transports of love, and even all its fury: for the less a person is master of his own heart, the more is he devoted to the Goddess.

THOSE who have not lost their hearts are the profane, who are not admitted into her
Temple

Temple. They at a distance address their vows to the Goddess, and beg to be delivered from that liberty, which is nothing more than the incapacity of forming desires.

THE Goddess inspires the girls with modesty ; and that virtue has such charms as to set an additional value on all the treasures they conceal.

BUT never in these fortunate places do they blush at a sincere passion, an ingenuous sentiment, a tender acknowledgement.

THE heart becomes fixed from the moment it has surrendered : but it is a profanation to surrender without love.

CUPID is attentive to the felicity of the Gnidians ; he chuses the arrows with which he wounds them. When he sees an afflicted lover, whose passion meets with an unkind return, he takes an arrow dipped in the water of forgetfulness. When he sees two lovers who begin to feel the tender passion, he incessantly lets fly against them fresh arrows : and on seeing one whose love has declined, he makes it suddenly revive or expire ; for he shortens the
 4 duration

duration of a languishing passion, and will not suffer them to feel disgust before they cease to love. Thus enraptured by the sweets of a greater felicity, they forget the less.

CUPID took from his quiver the cruel arrows with which he wounded Phedra and Ariadne ; they were mixed with love and hatred, and served to shew his power, as thunder makes known the empire of Jupiter.

IN proportion as the God gives the pleasure of loving, Venus adds the happiness of pleasing.

THE girls every day enter the sanctuary to offer their prayers to Venus. They there express the genuine sentiments of their hearts. Queen of Amathus, said one of them, my flame for Thyrsis is extinguished ; I do not intreat to have my love revived, but only that Ixiphiles may love me.

ANOTHER softly says, Powerful Goddess ! give me the power to conceal for some time my love to my shepherd, in order to enhance the value of the confession I intend to make to him.

GODDESS

GODDESS of Cythera ! says another, I seek solitude ; the sports of my companions no longer please me : perhaps I love. But if I am indeed in love, let it be with none but Daphnis.

AT their festivals the young men and maids go to repeat hymns in honour of Venus : and often do they celebrate her praise in singing their own amours.

A YOUNG Gnidian, taking his mistress by the hand, sung thus : Cupid, when first Psyche appeared to thy view, thou doubtless woundest her with the same arrow as that with which thou hast wounded my heart. Thy happiness was not different from mine ; for thou feltest my flames, and I feel thy pleasures.

FOR my part, I have seen what I describe. I have been at Gnidos : I have seen Themira, and I have loved : I saw her again, and I loved her still more. With her I will spend my life at Gnidos, and I shall be the most happy of all mortals.

N

WE

WE will visit the Temple ; and never shall
 a more faithful lover enter its walls. We will
 go to the palace of Venus, and I will imagine
 it to be the palace of my Themira. I will
 walk to the meadow, and gather flowers,
 which I will place in her bosom. Perhaps I
 may conduct her to the grove where so many
 paths meet, and when she shall have strayed
 —But Cupid, by whom I am inspired, forbids
 my revealing his mysteries.

C A N T O II.

THERE is at Gnidus another sacred grove inhabited by the nymphs, where the Goddess delivers her oracles. The earth sends forth no hollow sound under your feet; the hair is not raised erect upon the head; and there is no priestess as at Delphos, where Apollo fills with convulsive agitations the trembling Pythia: but Venus herself lends an ear to the requests of mortals, without sporting with their hopes or fears.

A COQUETTE of the isle of Crete came to Gnidus; she was surrounded by all the young Gnidians; she smiled at one, whispered to another, threw her arm upon a third, and called to two others to follow her. She was beautiful, and adorned with art, and the sound of her voice was as deceitful as her eyes. O heavens! how were the faithful, the tender lovers, among the fair, alarmed! She presented herself before the Oracle with as much confidence as a Goddess: but suddenly we heard a voice proceed from the sanctuary: Perfidious wretch!

how darest thou carry thy artifices even into the places where I reign with candour and sincerity? Severely shalt thou be punished: I will take away thy charms; but leave thy heart as it is: thou shalt call about thee all the men thou see'st; but they shall fly from thee as from a plaintive ghost, and thou shalt die rejected, and loaded with contempt.

AT length came a courtezan of Nocretis shining with the spoils of her lovers. Go, said the Goddess, thou deceivest thyself in believing that thou hast added to the glory of my empire. Thy beauty proclaims that thou hast pleasure to bestow; but none does it give: thy heart is like iron, and tho' thou shouldest see my son himself, thou couldest not love him. Go, bestow thy favours on the base men who demand them, and whom they fill with disgust: go, shew them charms which shall suddenly vanish, and be lost for ever. Thou art only fit to render my power despised.

SOMETIME after came a rich man, who collected tribute for the King of Lydia. Thou askest, said the Goddess, one thing which I cannot perform, though I am the Goddess of Love. Thou askest for beauties, that thou

mayest taste the raptures of love ; but thou lovest them not because thou hast bought them : thy treasures are not useless ; they serve to fill thee with disgust against every thing most charming in nature.

A YOUNG man of Doris, named Aristeus, at length presented himself. He had seen at Gnidus the charming Camilla, and was fallen desperately in love with her. He perceived the excess of his passion, and came to ask Venus that he might love her still more.

I KNOW thine heart, said the Goddess ; thou art sensible of the power of love. I have found Camilla worthy of thee. I could have given her to the greatest King upon earth ; but Kings have less merit than shepherds.

I AT last appeared with Themira ; when the Goddess said : There is not in all my empire a mortal who knows how to submit himself to my power better than thee ; but what wouldst thou have me do for thee ? I cannot render thee more in love, nor Themira more charming. O great Goddess, said I, I have a thousand favours to ask : May Themira think only of me ; may she see none but me ; may

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she awake dreaming of me ; may she fear to
lose me when I am present ; hope for me
in my absence ; and always charmed with see-
ing me, still regret every moment she passes
without me.

C A N-

C A N T O III.

AT Gnidus there are sacred games which are renewed every year, and there women come from all parts to dispute the prize of beauty ; when shepherdesses are confounded with the daughters of Kings, for there beauty alone is the mark of empire. Venus herself presides over them ; she decides without hesitation, and knows well the happy mortal whom she has most favoured.

HELEN several times gained the prize : she triumphed when she was stolen by Theseus ; she triumphed when she was carried away by the son of Priam ; in fine, she triumphed when the Gods restored her to Menelaus, after his hopes had been kept alive for ten years : that Prince therefore, in the opinion of Venus herself, found as much happiness in being her husband, as Theseus and Paris in being her lovers.

THERE came thirty girls of Corinth, whose hair fell in large ringlets on their shoulders.

There came ten from Salamis, who had not yet seen thirteen times the annual course of the sun. There came fifteen from the isle of Lesbos, who said to each other, I am quite charmed, I never saw any thing so beautiful as you ; if Venus saw you with the same eyes as I do, she would crown you amidst all the beauties of the universe.

THERE came fifty women of Miletus, who excelled in the whiteness of their complexion, and the regularity of their features ; every thing shewed, or gave room to imagine, that their persons were lovely, and that the Gods, who had formed them, would have made nothing so beautiful as they, had they sought to obtain valuable perfections rather than external graces.

AN hundred women came from the island of Cyprus. We have passed our youth, said they, in the temple of Venus ; to her we have consecrated our virginity, and our modesty itself. We do not blush at our charms ; our manners, sometimes bold, and always free, ought to give us the advantage over a modesty that is continually creating fresh alarms.

I SAW

I SAW the daughters of proud Sparta : their robes were open at the sides from the girdle, in the most indecent manner ; and yet they behaved like prudes, and maintained, that they would never violate the laws of modesty, except for the love of their country.

O SEA, famous for so many shipwrecks, thou preservest the treasures committed to thy care. Thou becamest calm, when the ship Argo, laden with the golden fleece, sailed on thy liquid plain ; and when fifty beauties departed from Colchis, and trusted themselves on thy waves, thou didst bow under them.

I ALSO saw Oriana, like a Goddess : All the beauties of Lydia surrounded their Queen. She had sent before her an hundred girls, who had presented to Venus an offering of two hundred talents. Candaules came himself, and was more distinguished by his love than by the royal purple. He passed his days and nights in devouring with his looks the charms of Oriana ; his eyes wandered over her beautiful form, and were never weary. I am happy, said he ; but alas ! this is known only to Venus and myself ; my felicity would be much heightened,

heightened, did it but inspire envy ! Lovely Queen, quit these vain ornaments ; drop that troublesome vail, and shew thyself to the universe ; leave the prize of beauty, and demand altars raised to thine honour.

AFTERWARDS came twenty Babylonians, dressed in purple robes embroidered with gold : they imagined, that the richness of their apparel enhanced their value. Some carried, as a proof of their beauty, the riches it had enabled them to acquire.

THEN came an hundred Egyptian women whose eyes and whose hair were black : their husbands were with them, and said, The laws render us subject to you in honour of Isis ; but your beauty has a more powerful empire over us, than that of the laws : we obey you with the same pleasure as we obey the Gods, and are the most happy slaves in the universe. Duty secures our fidelity to you ; but only love can render you faithful to us. Be less sensible of the glory you acquire at Gnidus, than of the homage you may find in your own house from a tranquil husband ; who, while you are employed in affairs abroad, ought to wait in the family for the heart you bring him.

THERE

THERE came women from that powerful city which sends vessels to the ends of the universe : their heads were loaden with superfluous ornaments, and all the parts of the earth seemed to have contributed to form their drefs.

TEN beauties came from the place where the day begins to dawn ; they were the daughters of Aurora, and in order to see her, rose daily before that Goddess. They complained of the Sun, that he made their mother disappear ; and they complained of their mother, that she did not shew herself to them, as she did to other mortals.

I SAW under a tent a Queen of India surrounded by her virgins, who already gave hopes of their having the charms of their mothers : she was served by eunuchs, whose eyes were fixed on the earth ; for since their breathing the air of Gnidus, they had felt the gloom of melancholy redoubled.

THE women of Cadiz, which is at the extremity of the earth, likewise disputed for the prize. There is no country upon earth where
beauty

beauty does not receive homage ; but nothing less than the highest homage can satisfy the ambition of the fair.

THE girls of Gnidus at length appeared : beautiful without ornament, they had graces instead of pearls and rubies. Nothing was seen on their heads but the presents of Flora ; which were there more worthy of the embraces of Zephyrus. Their robes had no other merit besides that of exhibiting the fineness of their shape, and of being spun with their own fingers.

AMONG all these beauties one could not see the young Camilla ; who had said, I will not dispute the prize of beauty, it is sufficient that my dear Aristeus thinks me fair.

DIANA rendered these games celebrated by her presence. She did not come to dispute the prize ; for the Goddesses do not compare themselves to mortals. I saw her alone, and she seemed as beautiful as Venus : I saw her with Venus, and she was only Diana.

THERE never was so great a concourse : nations were separated from nations ; the eye wandered

wandered from country to country, from the setting of the sun to the rising of Aurora. It seemed as if Gnidus comprehended the whole universe.

THE Gods have divided beauty among the nations, as nature has divided it among the Goddesses. There we see the proud beauty of Pallas; here the grandeur and majesty of Juno; farther still, the simplicity of Diana, the delicacy of Thetis, the charms of the Graces, and sometimes the smile of Venus.

It seemed as if each nation had a particular manner of expressing modesty, and yet that every woman was resolved to attract every eye. Some discovered the neck, and concealed the shoulders; others shewed their shoulders, and concealed their necks: those who concealed the foot paid you with other charms; and here they blushed at what was there called decency.

THE Gods are so charmed with Themira, that they never look at her without smiling at their work. Of all the Goddesses, there is none but Venus who sees her with pleasure, and whom the Gods do not rally with having a little jealousy.

As

As we observe a rose in the midst of the flowers that spring in the grass, Themira was distinguished among so many beauties. They had not time to become her rivals; they were vanquished before they feared her. She no sooner appeared, than the eyes of Venus were fixed on her; and calling the Graces, Go, said she, and crown her, for of all the beauties I see, she alone resembles you.

C A N T O IV.

WHILE Themira was employed with her companions in the worship of the Goddesses, I entered a solitary wood, and there I found the tender Aristeus. We had seen each other on the day when we went to consult the Oracle; and our meeting was sufficient to engage us to enter into conversation: for Venus places in the heart, on our seeing an inhabitant of Gnidus, the secret charm felt by two friends, when after a long absence, they press in their arms the dear object of their inquietudes.

TRANSPORTED with each other, we found that we had resigned our hearts: it appeared as if a tender friendship had descended from heaven in order to unite us. We related a thousand passages of our lives, and this is, nearly, what I said to him.

I WAS born at Sybaris, where Antiochus my father was the priest of Venus. In that city they make no difference between luxuries and

and necessities ; all the arts are banished that are capable of disturbing a tranquil sleep : prizes are given at the public expence to those who discover new sources of voluptuousness : and the citizens remember only the buffoons that have afforded them diversion, while they lose all remembrance of the magistrates who have governed them with wisdom.

THE people there take advantage of the fertility of the soil, which produces an eternal plenty ; and the favours bestowed by the Gods on Sybaris serve only to encourage softness and luxury.

TO SUCH a degree are the men sunk in effeminacy, that their dress is so like that of the women, they take such care of their complexions, they curl their hair with such art, and employ so much time in adorning themselves at the glass, that there seems to be only one sex in all the city.

THE women abandon themselves, instead of surrendering, and the desires and hopes of the day are finished at its conclusion. They know not what it is to love, and to taste the pleasure
of

of being beloved, and are solely employed about what is falsely called enjoyment.

WHAT with us are termed favours are there nothing less than their proper realities; and all those circumstances which so happily accompany them; all those nothings that are of such great value; all those trifles that are of such worth; every thing that prepares the way for the happy moment; so many conquests instead of one; so many enjoyments before the last; are all unknown at Sybaris.

YET, had they the least modesty, a small appearance of that virtue would please: but they have it not; their eyes are accustomed to see, and their ears to hear every thing.

So far is the multiplicity of pleasures from giving the Sybarites more delicacy, that they cannot distinguish one sentiment from another.

THEY pass life in a joy merely exterior; quitting one pleasure that displeases them, for another that is still more displeasing; while every change affords a new subject of disgust.

O

THEIR

THEIR souls, incapable of relishing pleasure, seem to have no delicacy but for pain. Thus, a citizen was fatigued a whole night by the leaf of a rose folded in his bed.

EASE and softness have so weakened their bodies, that they cannot remove the least burden, and can scarce support themselves on their feet. They faint away in the most easy carriages; and when at a feast, their stomachs continually fail them.

THEY pass their lives reclined on sofas, on which they are obliged to repose the whole day, without any relief from their fatigue; they are bruised if they attempt to languish out life in any other manner.

INCAPABLE of bearing the weight of arms; timorous before their fellow citizens, and dastardly in the presence of strangers, they are slaves ready to submit to the first master.

I WAS no sooner capable of thinking, than I was filled with contempt for the unhappy Sybarites. I love virtue, and have always feared the

the immortal Gods. I will no longer, said I, breathe this infectious air; all these slaves of softness and indolence are made to live in their native country, and I to leave it.

I THEN went for the last time to the temple; and approaching the altars, where my father had so often sacrificed; Great Goddess! said I with a loud voice, I abandon thy temple, but not thy worship; in what part of the earth soever I am, I will offer incense to thee; but it shall be purer than that offered at Sybaris.

I DEPARTED, and arrived in Crete, an island filled with monuments of the extravagance of love. There were seen the brazen cow, the work of Dædalus, to deceive, or to gratify the lust of Pasiphaë; the labyrinths, whose intricacies love only could elude; the tomb of Phædra, which astonished the Sun, as it had done his mother; and the temple of Ariadne, who, deserted in the deserts, and abandoned by an ungrateful wretch, did not repent of her having followed him.

I THERE saw the palace of Idomeneus, whose return from the siege of Troy was not

more happy than that of the other Greek captains : for those who escaped the dangers of a resentful element, found in their own houses those that were still more fatal. Venus, exasperated against them, gave them to the embraces of their perfidious wives, and they died by the hand they held most dear.

I QUITTED that isle, so odious to a Goddess who was one day to give felicity to my life.

I REEMBARKED ; and a tempest cast me on shore at Lesbos, an island but little beloved by Venus, who has taken modesty from the countenances of the women, weakness from their bodies, and timidity from their souls. Great Venus ! suffer the women of Lesbos to burn with a lawful flame ; and may human nature no longer suffer such disgrace.

AT Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos, resided the tender Sappho, who, immortal as the Muses, burnt with a fire which she could not extinguish. Odious to herself, and disgusted with her charms, she hated, and yet courted her own sex. How, said she, can a flame so vain become so cruel ! Cupid, how much more formidable art thou when in sport, than when enraged !

AT

AT length I quitted Lesbos, and my fate led me to an island still more profane ; and that was Lemnos. Venus has there no temple : never do the Lemnians address their vows to her. We reject, say they, a worship that softens the heart. The Goddess has often punished them ; but they bear the punishment, without making an expiation for their crime, and are always more impious in proportion as they are afflicted.

I AGAIN put to sea in search of a country beloved by the Gods ; and the winds conducted me to Delos. I staid some time in that sacred isle. But, whether the Gods sometimes previously inform us of what is to happen ; or whether the soul retains from the emanations of the Divinity, with which it is enlightened, some knowledge of futurity ; I perceived that my destiny, and that my happiness, itself, called me to another country.

ONE night when I was in that state of tranquillity, in which the soul, being more itself, seems delivered from that chain wherewith it is bound ; there appeared before me a female form, and I was at first at a loss to know whe-

ther she was a mortal or a Goddess. A secret charm was spread over her whole person : she was not so beautiful as Venus, but was as ravishing as that Goddess : all her features were not regular ; but, together, they were full of charms : her hair fell negligently on her shoulders ; but that negligence had a happy effect : her shape and stature were charming : she had that air which nature alone bestows, and which she hides from the painters. She saw my astonishment : she smiled. Ye Gods ! what a smile ! I am, said she, one of the Graces : Venus, who sent me, would render thee happy ; but thou must go, and adore her in the Temple of Gnidus. She vanished : I stretched out my arms to hold her ; my sleep fled with her ; and there only remained a sweet regret at my no longer seeing her, mixed with the pleasure of having beheld her.

I THEN quitted the isle of Delos, and arrived at Gnidus. I may say, that I instantly breathed love. I felt—I cannot express what I felt. I was not yet in love, but sought to love. My heart was inflamed, as if I had been in the presence of some celestial beauty. I advanced, and saw at a distance several young girls playing in a meadow. I was immediately drawn towards them.

them. Senseless as I am, said I, I feel without love all the disturbances of the lover: my heart flies already towards objects unknown, and those objects fill it with inquietude. I approached; I saw the charming Themira. We were doubtless made for each other. I looked at none but her, and believe that I should have died with grief, had she not turned her eyes, and cast some looks at me. Great Venus, cried I, since thou art to render me happy, may it be with this shepherdess: I renounce all other beauties; she alone can fulfil thy promises, and all the vows I shall for ever make

C A N T O V.

I CONTINUED talking to the young Aristeus of my tender passion, which made him sigh for his own, when I endeavoured to ease his heart by intreating him to disburden it to me : and this is what he said. I shall forget nothing ; for I am inspired by the same God that made him speak.

IN all my story you will find nothing but what is extremely simple : my adventures are only the sentiments of a tender heart : these are my pleasures, and these my pains ; for as my love for Camilla forms the happiness, it also forms the history, of my life.

CAMILLA is the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Gnidus ; she is beautiful, and has a countenance that makes an impression on all hearts. The women who form desires demand of the Gods the graces of Camilla : the men who see her would see her always, or fear longer to see her.

SHE

SHE is of a graceful stature ; and has a noble, but modest air ; her eyes are lively, and susceptible of tenderness ; her features are expressly made for each other, and have charms adapted to give her a conquest over the heart.

CAMILLA does not seek to adorn herself ; but she is better adorned than other women.]

SHE has that wit which nature almost constantly refuses to the fair, and is equally capable of seriousness and gaiety. If you chuse it, she will join in a sensible conversation ; or she will jest like the Graces.

THE more wit a person has, the more will he find in Camilla. Her thoughts are so natural, that she seems to speak the language of the heart. Every thing she says, every thing she does, has the charm of simplicity ; and you always find her a native shepherdes. Graces so easy, so refined, so delicate, are always observed ; but are better felt than described,

WITH all these advantages, Camilla loves me ; she is transported at seeing me ; she is sorry when I leave her ; and, as if I could live
 5 without

without her, makes me promise to return. I continually tell her that I love her, she believes me: I tell her that I adore her, she knows it; but is as delighted as if she knew it not. When I tell her that she constitutes the felicity of my life, she tells me that I am the happiness of hers. In short, she loves me so much, that she almost makes me believe that I am worthy of her love.

FOR a month did I see Camilla, without daring to tell her that I loved, and almost without daring to tell it myself. The more amiable I found her, the less were my hopes of meeting with a return. O Camilla! thought I, thy charms captivate my soul; but they let me know that I am unworthy of thee. I sought to forget her; I would have effaced her image from my heart. How happy was I that I could not succeed! That image has remained there, and will never be obliterated.

I SAID to Camilla: I once loved the bustle and noise of life; but now I seek solitude: I had views of ambition; but I desire nothing but thy presence: I was desirous of visiting distant climates; but my heart is now only a citizen of the places where thou breathest.

Every

Every thing but thee has vanished from before my eyes.

WHEN Camilla speaks of her tenderness, she has always something to say to me, and she fancies she has forgot what she has protested a thousand times. I am so charmed at hearing her, that I sometimes pretend not to believe her, in order to hear her still flatter my heart. Sometimes we both preserve that sweet silence, which is the most tender language of lovers.

WHEN I have been absent from Camilla, I have endeavoured to give her an account of what I have heard or seen. With what dost thou entertain me, says she? talk to me of our love; or if thou hast not thought of it, if thou hast nothing to say to me, O cruel Aristeus, suffer me to speak.

SOMETIMES, embracing me, she says, Thou art melancholy. 'Tis true, I reply; but the melancholy of lovers is delightful: I feel my tears flow, and know not for why; for thou lovest me: I have no cause of complaint; and yet I complain. Deliver me not from the languor of my mind; suffer me to sigh out at the same time my pains and my pleasures.

IN

IN the transports of love my soul is too strongly agitated ; it is drawn towards its happiness without enjoying it : but now I relish even melancholy itself. Dry not up my tears : what signifies my shedding them, while I am happy.

SOMETIMES Camilla says : Dost thou love me ? Yes, I love thee. But how dost thou love me ? I love, I reply, as I have loved : for I can only compare the affection I have for thee, by that which I have felt for the same transporting object.

I HEAR Camilla praised by all who know her : these praises affect me as if they were made to myself, and I am more delighted with them, than she.

WHEN we have company, she talks with such wit, that I am charmed with her least words : but I am still better pleased, when she is silent.

WHEN she contracts a friendship, I would be that friend ; and suddenly I reflect that I shall not be beloved.

O CAMILLA, take care of the deceits of lovers. They tell thee that they love ; and they speak truth : they tell thee, that they love thee more than I ; but I swear by the Gods, that I love thee still more.

WHEN I perceive her at a distance, my soul flies to her ; she approaches, and my heart is agitated ; I come up to her, and my soul seems as if it would leave me to enter Camilla's breast, and that hers is going to animate mine.

SOMETIMES, when I would steal from her one favour, she refuses me, and instantly grants me another. This is not artifice. Divided between modesty and love, she would refuse me every thing ; and yet she wishes that she might deny me nothing.

SHE says, Is it not sufficient that I love you ? What can you desire more, after having had my heart ? I desire, say I, that thou wouldst for me commit a fault that is in the power of love, and which the greatness of love can justify.

If

If I ever cease to love thee, my Camilla, may the Destinies be mistaken, and take that for the last of my days! May they cut off the remainder of a life, which I should find deplorable when I recollected the pleasure I had found in loving.

ARISTEUS sighed, and was silent; and I plainly saw, that he only ceased to talk of Camilla, in order to enjoy the pleasure of thinking of her charms.

C A N T O VI.

WHILE we were talking of our amours,
 we rambled out of our way ; and hav-
 ing strayed for a long time, entered a large mea-
 dow, where we were conducted by a flowery
 path to the foot of a frightful rock. We there
 saw an obscure den, which we entered, think-
 ing it the abode of some mortal. Ye Gods !
 who could have imagined that this place was
 so fatal ! Scarce had I set my foot in it, when
 my whole body trembled, and my hair stood
 erect on my head ! An invifible hand drew me
 into this fatal abode, and in proportion as my
 heart was agitated, its agitations increafed.
 Friend, cried I, let us enter farther ftill, let us
 fee if we fhall increafe our pain. I advanced
 to the place where the fun had never entered,
 and where the winds had never breathed.
 There I faw Jealoufy, whose afpect appeared
 more gloomy than terrible : Palenefs, Melan-
 choly, and Silence furrounded her ; and about
 her flew Sorrow and Difquietude. She breath-
 ed upon us ; ſhe placed her hand upon our
 hearts ; ſhe ſtruck us upon the head ; and
 our

our sight and imagination could perceive nothing but monsters.

ENTER still farther, unhappy mortals, said she; go, find a Goddess more powerful than I. We obeyed; and soon saw a frightful Deity, by the light of the inflamed tongues of the serpents that hissed about her head. This was Rage. She loosened one of her serpents, and threw it at me. I strove to catch it, and in an instant it imperceptibly slid into my heart. I stood for a moment stupid; but the poison had no sooner diffused itself into my veins, than I imagined myself in the midst of hell. My soul was set on fire. I could scarce contain myself; and was in such agitations, that I seemed tormented by the whips of the Furies. We abandoned ourselves to our transports, and an hundred times encompassed this dreadful cavern: we went from Jealousy to Rage; and from Rage to Jealousy. We called upon Themira; we called upon Camilla: but if Themira and Camilla had been there, we should have torn them in pieces with our own hands.

AT length we returned to the light of day, which then appeared troublesome, and we almost

almost regretted our having quitted the frightful cavern : we sunk down with lassitude, and even this repose appeared insupportable. Our eyes refused to shed tears, and our hearts could no longer form a sigh.

I HOWEVER enjoyed a moment's tranquillity : Sleep began to shed on me her sweet poppies. But, ye Gods ! this sleep itself became cruel. I saw images that appeared more terrible to me, than the pale shades I had seen when awake. I every instant awoke at the infidelity of Themira. I saw her—I dare not yet express what I saw. What I before beheld only in imagination, I found realized in the horrors of this frightful sleep.

I MUST then, said I rising, fly equally darkness and light. Themira, the cruel Themira, torments me like the furies ! Who could have imagined, that in order to be happy I must forget her for ever ?

SEIZED by a fit of madness, I cried, Friend, arise, let us destroy the flocks that feed in this meadow ; let us pursue the shepherds who enjoy their loves in peace. No, I see at a distance a temple ; it is, perhaps, that of Cupid :

P

let

let us go and destroy it ; let us break his statue and render our rage formidable. We ran, and it seemed as if our ardour for committing a crime gave us new strength. We crossed the woods, the meadows, and the fields, and did not stop for a moment : a hill arose in vain ; we ascended it, and entered the temple which was consecrated to Bacchus.—How great is the power of the Gods ! Our rage was immediately calmed. We looked at each other, and saw with surprize the extravagance of our conduct.

GREAT God ! I cried, I return thee my thanks, not so much for having appeased my fury, as for having saved me from guilt. Then, approaching the priestess ; We are beloved by the God whom you serve, said I ; he has just calmed the agitations of our minds ; scarce did we enter this sacred place, than we were sensible of his favourable presence ; we would therefore offer a sacrifice to him. Condescend, divine priestess, to offer it for us. I will go and seek a victim, and bring it to your feet.

WHILE the priestess was preparing to give the mortal blow, Aristeus pronounced these words :

words: Divine Bacchus, thou lovest to see joy diffused over the countenance of man; our pleasure is a worship paid to thee; and thou wilt be adored by none but the most happy of mortals.

SOMETIMES thou givest a sweet disorder to our reason: but when some cruel Deity has taken it from us, thou alone canst restore it.

BLACK Jealousy holds Love in bondage: but thou takest away the empire she assumes over our hearts, and sendest her back to her dismal abode.

AFTER the sacrifice was ended, all the people assembled about us: and I related to the priestess, how we had been tormented in the habitation of Jealousy. Suddenly we heard a great noise, and a confused mixture of voices and musical instruments: upon which leaving the temple, we saw a troop of Bacchanals, who striking the earth with their thyrses, cried with a loud voice, *Evohæ*. Old Silenus followed, mounted on an ass: his head seemed to seek the ground, and whenever it seemed ready to fall from his shoulders, he balanced himself up with his body. The troop had

their faces smeared with the lees of wine. Pan at length appeared with his pipe ; and the Satyrs surrounded their King. Joy reigned in the midst of disorder ; an amiable folly was mixed with their sports, their raillery, their dances, and their songs. At length came Bacchus in a chariot drawn by tygers ; such as was seen at the river Ganges, at the end of the universe, bearing joy and victory.

By his side was the beautiful Ariadne. Lovely Princess, you still wept for the infidelity of Theseus, when the God took your crown, and placed it in the heavens. Had you not dried up your tears, you would have rendered a God more unhappy than yourself who are a mortal. Love me, said he, Theseus is fled ; bear no remembrance of his love ; and even forget his perfidy : I will render you immortal, that I may love you for ever.

I saw Bacchus descend from his chariot ; and I saw Ariadne also descend : when entering the temple, Amiable God, cried she, let us stay in this place, and here sigh our loves. Let eternal joy dwell in this delightful climate. Near this place the queen of hearts has fixed her empire : may the God of joy reign near
her

her, and increase the happiness of these people already so fortunate.

As for me, great God, I already perceive that my love is increased ; and it is possible that thou mayst one day appear even more amiable ! None but the immortals can love to excess, and with a constant growing affection ; none but they can obtain more than they hope for ; they alone are more limited when they desire, than when they enjoy. Here we will perform our eternal loves : for in the heavens the Gods are filled with their glory ; and it is only on the earth, and in rural retreats, that they give way to love. While this troop therefore abandon themselves to extravagant transports, my joy, and my sighs shall incessantly proclaim my affection.

BACCHUS smiled at Ariadne, and instantly led her into the sanctuary. Mean while joy took possession of our hearts ; we felt a divine emotion ; when being seized with the extravagance of old Silenus, and by the transports of the Bacchanals, we each took a thyrsis, and mingled in the dances and concerts.

C A N T O VII.

ON our quitting the places consecrated to Bacchus, we soon felt that our evils had been only suspended. 'Tis true, we had not the madness with which we had before been agitated; but a gloomy melancholy had seized our souls, and we were racked by suspicions and inquietudes.

IT seemed to us, that the cruel Goddeſſes had tormented us, in order to give us a fore-sight of the misfortunes to which we were destined.

SOMETIMES we regretted our having left the temple of Bacchus; and soon after we were induced to approach that of Gnidus: we were desirous of seeing Themira and Camilla, the powerful objects of our love and jealousy.

BUT we had none of that sweetness people are accustomed to feel, when on the point of seeing those they love, when the soul is already ravished, and tastes beforehand the promised happiness.

PERHAPS,

PERHAPS, said Aristeus, I shall find Lycas the shepherd with Camilla. How do I know that he is not talking to her this very moment? Ye Gods! the traitress takes pleasure in hearing him.

IT was said the other day, cried I, that Thyrsis, who has been so in love with Themira, was to arrive at Gnidus. He has loved her, and doubtless loves her still; I must dispute with him a heart I believed intirely my own.

I REMEMBER that one day Lycas sung to my Camilla. Insensible wretch that I was, I was delighted at hearing him praise her.

I REMEMBER that Thyrsis brought my Themira some fresh-blown flowers. Unhappy that I am, she placed them in her bosom, saying, It is a present from Thyrsis. Oh! I should have snatched them, and have trampled them under my feet.

NOT long since I went with Camilla to make an offering to Venus of two young

turtles ; but they escaped from me, and flew away.

I HAD inscribed my name with that of Themira on the trees ; I had written also the story of our love : I read them, and read them again without ceasing ; but one morning I found them effaced.

CAMILLA, drive not to despair an unhappy wretch who loves thee ; for love, when provoked, has all the effects of hatred.

THE first Gnidian that shall look at my Themira, I will pursue even into the Temple, and punish him though at the feet of Venus.

WHILE we were holding these discourses, we arrived within sight of the sacred grove where the Goddess delivers her oracles. The people were in crowds, that moved like the waves of the sea agitated by the wind. Some came to hear, and others to receive an answer.

WE entered the crowd, and I lost the happy Aristeus. Already had he embraced his Camilla ; and I was still in search of my Themira.

I·AT

I AT length found her. I felt my jealousy redoubled at her sight, and began to resume my former madness. But she looked at me, and I was filled with tranquillity. Thus do the Gods send back the Furies, when they escape out of hell.

OH! what tears, cried she, hast thou cost me! Three times has the sun run his course, and I fear'd that I had lost thee for ever. I have been to consult the Oracle. I did not ask whether thou lovedst me. I only desired to know if thou wast still alive. But Venus has just answered, that thou wilt love me for ever.

EXCUSE, said I, an unfortunate wretch, who would have hated thee had he been capable of it. The Gods, in whose hands I am, may take away my reason; but they cannot, Themira, deprive me of my love.

I HAVE been agitated by the most dreadful jealousy, and have endured the tortures inflicted in Tartarus on the ghosts of criminals. But this advantage have I drawn from it, I am more sensible of the happiness of being beloved
by

by thee, after the dreadful situation of fearing to lose thee.

COME then with me ; retire into this solitary grove. We ought by love to expiate the crimes I have committed. It is a great crime, Themira, to believe thee unfaithful.

NEVER were the Elyfian bowers, made by the Gods for the tranquillity of the souls they love ; never were the forests of Dodona, where the trees spoke, and revealed to man his future felicity ; never were the gardens of the Hesperides, whose boughs bent under the weight of their golden fruit, more charming than this grove adorned with the enchanting presence of Themira.

I REMEMBER, a Satyr who pursued a nymph, that fled from him all in tears, saw us ; and stopping cried, Happy lovers ! your eyes know how to answer and reply to your passion ; and your sighs are repaid by sighs ! But I spend my life in following a cruel shepherdes ; unhappy while I pursue ; but more unhappy still when I have caught her.

A YOUNG nymph, who was wandering alone through the grove, perceived us ; and sighing cried, It is only to augment my torments, that cruel Cupid brings before me so tender a lover.

WE found Apollo seated near a fountain. That God had followed Diana, whom a timorous deer had led into these woods. I knew him again by his fair hair, and the immortal troop that surrounded him. He struck his lyre ; it drew the woods, the trees moved, and the lions remained immovable. But we entered farther into the forest, and were in vain invited by that divine harmony.

WHERE do you imagine that I found the God of Love. I found him on the lips of Themira. I afterwards discovered him on her bosom : he saved himself at her feet ; I found him still : he then hid himself under her knees ; I followed him, and should have continued to follow him, if the weeping, the angry Themira had not stopped me. He was at his last retreat, and she was so charming, that he could not leave her. Thus, a tender linnet, detained by fear and love, covers her little ones
with

with her wings, and remains immoveable under the hand that approaches her, and cannot consent to abandon them.

UNHAPPY as I am, Themira heard my complaints, and was not softened: she listened to my intreaties, and became more severe. In short, I grew rash: she was enraged, and I trembled: she appeared sorry; and I shed tears: she repulsed me; and I fell at her feet. I then perceived, that the sighs I uttered would have been my last, had not Themira laid her hand on my heart, and recalled me to life.

I AM not so cruel as thou, said she, for I have never thought of killing thee; and yet thou wouldest draw me into the darkness of the grave. Open those dying eyes, if thou wouldst not have mine shut for ever.

SHE embraced me, and I received my pardon; but alas! it was without the hope of again becoming guilty.

As the following piece appears to be written by the same author, I have also translated it from the Greek, and placed it here.

CUPID DISTRESSED.

ONE day being in the Idalian grove with the young Cephisa, I found Cupid asleep hid under the flowers, and sheltered by some branches of myrtle, which gently yielded to the breath of the Zephyrs. The Sports and Laughter, who always follow him, were playing at some distance, and he was alone. Cupid was then in my power: his bow and quiver lay by his side; and, if I had pleased, I could have stole the arms of the God of Love.

CEPHISA however took the bow, drew an arrow, and, without my perceiving her, let it fly at me. On which I smiling said, Take a second, give me another wound, for this is too sweet. She resolved to let fly another arrow, but it fell at her feet; and she softly cried, This was the heaviest arrow in the quiver of of Love. She then taking it up shot; and striking

striking me, I bowed, crying, O Cephisa, wouldst thou then bring me to my grave?

SHE then approached nearer to Cupid. He is in a profound sleep, said she; he is fatigued with shooting his arrows; let us gather some flowers, in order to bind his hands and feet. Oh! I can never consent to it, I returned; for he has always favoured us. I will go, then, said she, take his arms, and let fly an arrow at him with all my strength. But he will awake, said I. Well, let him, said she; what can he do but wound us more? No, no, I returned, do not disturb his repose; we will remain near him, and shall by that means be more inflamed.

CEPHISA then took the leaves of myrtle and roses, and cried, I am resolved to cover Cupid with them. The Sports and Laughter sought him, but could not find him, when she threw them upon him, and laughed to see the little God almost buried. But what am I amusing myself about? said she, I must cut his wings, that there may be no more inconstant men upon earth; for this God flies from heart to heart, carrying inconstancy with him. She then took her scissars, sat down, and held in

her hand the ends of his golden pinions. I felt my heart struck with fear, and cried, Stop, Cephisa! But she heard me not, and having cut the tip of his wings, left her scissars, and fled.

WHEN Cupid awoke, he endeavoured to fly; but felt an unaccustomed weight; on seeing the clippings of the feathers scattered among the flowers, he began to weep. But Jupiter perceiving him from high Olympus, sent him a cloud that carried him to the Temple of Gnidus, and laid him on the bosom of Venus. Mother, said he, I beat upon your breast with my wings; they are cut, and what will become of me? Son, said the lovely Cypria, do not weep; stay in my bosom, and do not stir; the warmth you will find there will make them grow again. Do you not see, that they are already larger? Embrace me; they grow; you will soon find them as before; I already see the tips of the golden feathers; in another moment—'tis enough, fly, fly, my son. Yes, said he, I am going to venture. He flew; he rested himself near the Goddess; and instantly returned to her bosom. He thence took a second flight; rested at a greater distance; and again returned to the bosom of Venus. He kissed it, she smiled; he kissed it again, and
play'd

play'd with her : and at length arose into the air, where he reigns over all nature.

CUPID, to be revenged on Cephisa, has rendered her the most volatile of all the fair ; and has caused her to burn every day with a fresh flame. She has loved me ; she has loved Daphnis ; and she still loves Cleon. Cruel Cupid ! it is me whom you punish. I would gladly bear the pain inflicted for her crime : but hast thou not other torments for me to suffer ?



LYSIMACHUS.



SYMMONY

L Y S I M A C H U S.

WHEN Alexander had destroyed the Persian Empire, he resolved to raise a belief, that he was the son of Jupiter. The Macedonians were vexed at seeing that Prince blush at having Philip for his father: their discontent increased, when they beheld him assume the manners, the customs, and the dress of the Persians; and they reproached themselves for having done so much for a man who began to despise them. But the murmurs of the army did not break out into words.

A PHILOSOPHER, named Callisthenes, had followed the King in his expedition. One day he saluted him after the manner of the Greeks: on which Alexander cried, " Whence comes
 " it, that thou dost not adore me?" " My
 " Lord, said Callisthenes, thou art the chief of
 " two nations: the one were slaves, before they
 " had submitted to thee, and are not less so
 " since thou hast conquered them; the other

Q 2

" free

“ free before they assisted thee in gaining so
 “ many victories, and are so still since thou
 “ hast obtained them. I am a Greek, my
 “ Lord; and that name thou hast raised so
 “ high, that we cannot degrade it without in-
 “ juring thee.”

THE vices of Alexander were as extraordinary as his virtues. He was terrible in his anger; it rendered him cruel. He caused the feet, nose, and ears of Callisthenes to be cut off; ordered that he should be shut up in an iron cage, and thus carried in the train of his army.

I LOVED Callisthenes; and whenever business would allow me some hours of leisure, I was used to employ them in listening to him; and if I have any love for virtue, I owe it to the impressions I have received from his discourses. I went to visit him, “ I salute thee, said I, illustrious but unhappy
 “ Callisthenes, whom I see, like a wild beast,
 “ kept in a cage of iron, for having been the
 “ only man in the army.”

“ LYSIMACHUS, said he, when I see myself
 “ in a situation that demands courage and for-
 “ titude,

"titude, I seem to be almost in my pro-
 "per situation. Indeed, had the Gods pla-
 "ced me upon earth, only to lead here a
 "life of pleasure, I believe they would have
 "given me in vain a great and immortal soul.
 "To enjoy the pleasures of sense, is a thing of
 "which all men are easily capable ; and if the
 "Gods have made us only for that, they have
 "made a work more perfect than they intend-
 "ed, and have executed more than they de-
 "signed. Not, added he, that I am insensible.
 "Thou let'st me too plainly see that I am not.
 "When I saw thee coming, I felt a sudden
 "pleasure at seeing thee perform so courageous
 "an action. But I conjure thee, in the name
 "of the Gods, to let this be the last time.
 "Leave me to support my misfortunes ; and
 "be not so cruel as to add to them the weight
 "of thine."

"CALLISTHENES, said I, I will visit thee
 "every day. If the King sees thee abandoned
 "by virtuous men, he will no longer feel the
 "least remorse ; he will begin to believe that
 "thou art guilty. I hope he will never en-
 "joy the pleasure of seeing, that his chastise-
 "ments have made me abandon a friend."

ONE day Callisthenes said to me, " The
 " immortal Gods have given me consolation ;
 " and ever since I feel within me something
 " divine, that has taken away the sensibility of
 " my pains. I have seen in a dream the great
 " Jupiter. Thou wast near him ; thou hadst
 " a scepter in thine hand, and a royal circlet on
 " thy forehead. He shewed thee to me, and
 " said, *He will render thee more happy.* The
 " emotions I felt awaked me from sleep. I
 " found my hands lifted up towards heaven,
 " and was making an effort to say, *Great*
 " *Jupiter, if Lyfimachus is to reign, grant that*
 " *he may reign with justice.* Lyfimachus, thou
 " shalt reign : believe a man who must be
 " pleasing to the Gods, since he suffers in the
 " cause of virtue."

IN the mean while Alexander being inform-
 ed, that I shewed respect to the misery of Cal-
 listhenes, that I went to visit him, and even
 presumed to complain of his treatment, was
 filled with a fresh transport of rage. " Go,
 " said he, and fight with lions, unhappy
 " wretch, that takest delight in living with
 " wild beasts." My punishment was, how-
 ever,

ever, deferred, that it might serve as a spectacle to a greater number of men.

THE day which preceded it I wrote these words to Callisthenes : “ I am going to die. All the ideas thou hast given me of my future grandeur are vanished from my mind. I could have wished to alleviate the sufferings of a man like thee.”

PREXAPES, in whom I confided, brought this answer : “ Lyfimachus, if the Gods have resolved that thou shalt reign, Alexander cannot take away thy life ; for men have it not in their power to oppose the will of the Gods.”

FROM this letter I received encouragement : and reflecting, that the happiest and most unhappy of mankind are equally surrounded by the divine hand, I resolved to conduct myself, not by my hopes, but by my courage, and to defend to the last a life on which depended such great promises.

THEY led me to the circus, where I was surrounded by an immense number of people, who came to be witness of my courage or my

fear. A lion was let loose upon me. I wrapped my cloak about my arm : I presented it to him : he would have devoured it : I thrust it far into his mouth, seized his tongue by the roots, tore it out, and threw it at my feet.

ALEXANDER was naturally fond of courageous actions. He admired my resolution ; and at that moment the greatness of his soul returned.

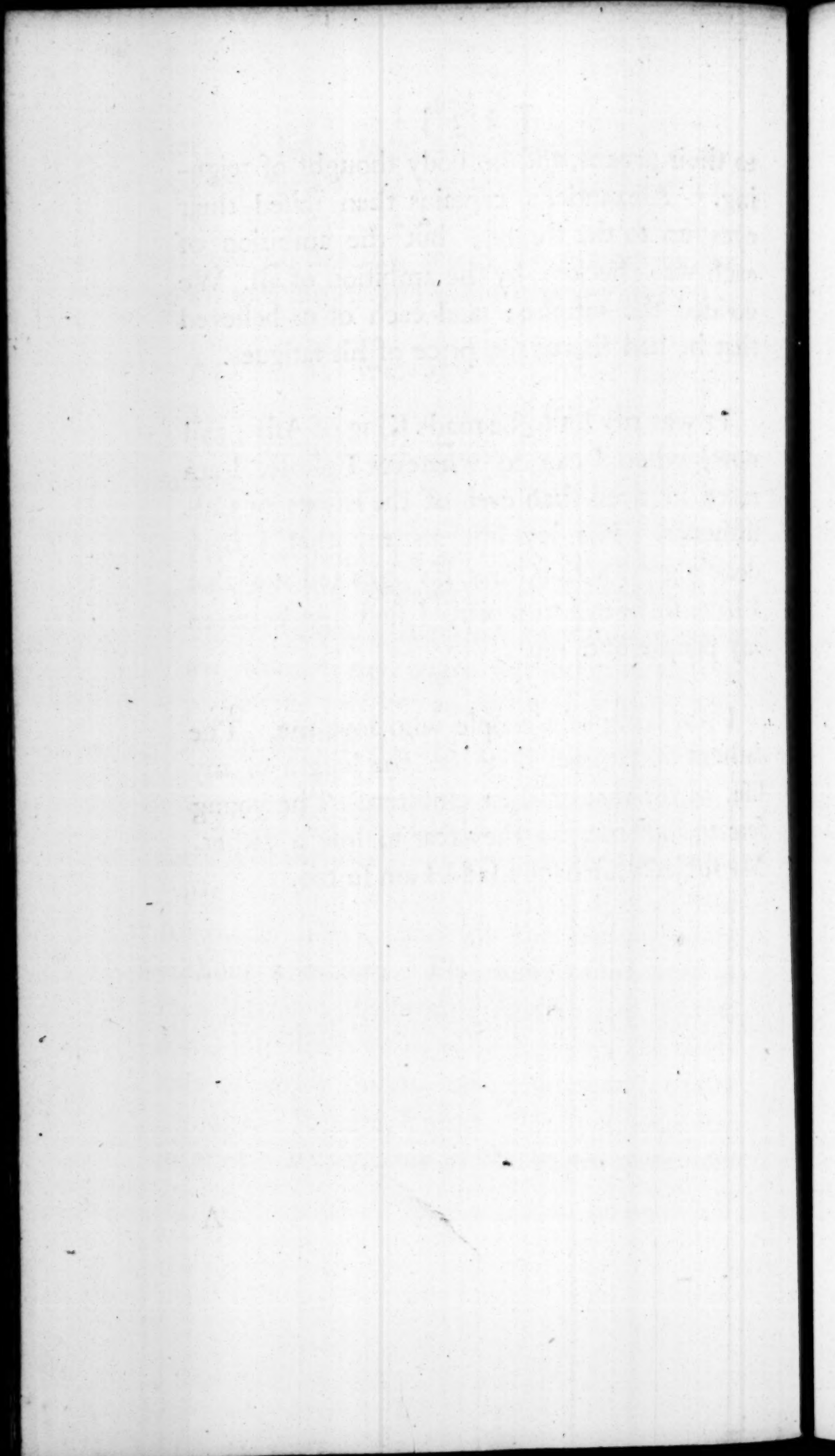
HE gave orders for my being called to him ; and holding out his hand to me, " Lyfimachus, " said he, I return thee my friendship, return " me thine : my anger has only served to " make thee perform an action that was wanting in the life of Alexander."

I RECEIVED the King's favour, adored the decrees of the Gods, and waited for their promises, without seeking or flying from them. Alexander died ; and all the nations were without a master. The King's sons were in their infancy : his brother Arideus had not yet come into Persia : Olympias had only the boldness of weak minds, and cruelty was to her courage. Roxana, Eurydice, Statyra, were lost in grief. Every body in the palace gave vent

to their groans, and no body thought of reigning. Alexander's captains then raised their eyes up to the throne; but the ambition of each was checked by the ambition of all. We divided the empire; and each of us believed that he had shared the price of his fatigues.

It was my lot to be made King of Asia; and now, when I can do whatever I please, I am more in need than ever of the lessons of Callisthenes. His joy informs me that I have done a good action, and his sighs tell me that I have some evil to repair. I find him between my people and me.

I AM King of a people who love me. The fathers of families hope for the length of my life, as for that of their children. The young fear to lose me, as they fear to lose a father. My subjects are happy, and I am so too.



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P A R T I.

THIS Defence is divided into three parts:

In the first are answered the general reproaches that have been cast on the Author of the Spirit of Laws. In the second, a reply is made to particular reproaches : And the third contains reflexions on the manner in which he has been treated. The Public will soon be acquainted with the state of the case ; and to its judgment the Author refers.



I.

THOUGH the Spirit of Laws is intirely a work relating to politics and civil law, the Author has had frequent occasion, in the
course

course of that work, to mention the Christian religion. He has done it in such a manner, as fully to shew its dignity ; and tho' he has had no view of endeavouring to prove it to be true, he has sought to render it beloved.

HOWEVER, in two periodical pieces that have successively followed each other*, the most dreadful imputations have been cast upon him. The inquiry is no less, than whether the Author be a Spinosist and a Deist : and tho' these accusations are in their own nature contradictory, the critic incessantly returns from one to the other.

BOTH being incompatible cannot render him more guilty than one alone ; but both may render him more odious.

HE is a Spinosist, who in the first article of his book has distinguished between the material world and spiritual intelligences.

HE is a Spinosist, who in the second article has attacked Atheism. " Those who assert, " that a blind fatality produced the various

* One on the 9th of October 1749 ; and the other on the 16th of the same month.

“ effects we behold in this world, are guilty of
 “ a very great absurdity : for can any thing be
 “ more absurd, than to pretend that a blind
 “ fatality could produce intelligent beings.”

HE is a Spinosist who continues to say,
 “ God is related to the universe as creator and
 “ preserver * ; the laws by which he has cre-
 “ ated all things, are those by which he pre-
 “ serves them. He acts according to these
 “ rules because he knows them : he knows
 “ them because he has made them : and he
 “ made them because they are relative to his
 “ wisdom and power.”

HE is a Spinosist who has added : “ As we
 “ see that the world, tho’ formed by the mo-
 “ tion of matter, and void of understanding,
 “ continues to subsist, &c †.”

HE is a Spinosist who has shewn, against
 Hobbes and Spinoza, That “ before laws were
 “ made, there were relations of possible jus-
 “ tice ‡.”

HE is a Spinosist who, in the beginning of
 the second chapter, has said : “ The law

* Book i. chap. i. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

“ which,

“ which, imprinting in our minds the idea of
 “ a Creator, inclines us to him, is the first, in
 “ its importance, of natural laws.”

HE is a Spinofist who has attacked with all his power a paradox asserted by Bayle, “ That
 “ it is better to be an atheist, than an idolater ;” a paradox from which the atheists draw the most dangerous consequences.

WHAT do they alledge after such express passages? Natural equity demands, that the degree of proof should be proportionable to the greatness of the accusation.

OBJECTION I.

*The Author falls at the very first step. “ The
 “ Laws, in their most general signification, says
 “ he, are the necessary relations derived from
 “ the nature of things.” The Laws of relations—What can he mean by this? The Author has not however deviated from the ordinary definition of Laws without design. What end had he then in view? This it is. According to the new system, there is, between all beings which form what Pope calls the universal whole, a chain so necessary, that the least disorder will produce confusion even up to the throne of the*
First

First Cause. This has made Pope say, that things can be no otherwise than they are, and that whatever is, is right. This being considered, we understand the signification of this new language, that the laws are the necessary relations derived from the nature of things. To which it is added, in this sense, "All beings have their Laws: the Deity has his Laws; the material world its Laws; the intelligences superior to man their Laws; the beasts their Laws; man his Laws."

THE ANSWER.

DARKNESS itself is not more obscure than this passage. The Critic has heard that Spinoza maintained, that the universe is governed by a blind and necessary principle; and there needed no more. As soon as he found the word *necessary*, this must be Spinosism. The Author has asserted, that the Laws are necessary relations: here therefore is Spinosism, because here is the term *necessary*. And what appears surprising is, that the Author, in the opinion of the Critic, is found to be a Spinosist by this article, tho' it expressly opposes such dangerous systems. The Author was attempting to overthrow Hobbes's system; a system the most terrible, it making all the virtues and vi-

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ces depend on human establishments: and by endeavouring to prove, that all mankind are born in a state of war, and that the first natural Law, is that all should make war against all, he, like Spinosa, overthrows both all religion, and all morality. In answer to this, the Author has established, in the first place, that there were laws of justice and equity before the establishment of positive Laws: he has proved, that all beings have Laws; that, even before their creation, they had possible Laws; that God himself has Laws, that is, Laws which he himself has made. He has proved, that the assertion, that man is born in a state of war, is false *. He has shewn, that a state of war did not commence till after the establishment of societies, and on this subject has advanced very clear principles. Whence it evidently follows: That the Author has attacked the errors of Hobbes, and the consequences of those of Spinosa; and that hence it has happened, that so little has he been understood, that his objections against Spinofism have been taken for the opinions of Spinosa. Before a person enters into a dispute, he ought to begin with making himself master of the state of

* Book i. chap. 2.

the question; and with knowing whether he whom he attacks is a friend or an enemy.

OBJECTION II.

THE Critic continues: *On which the Author cites Plutarch, who says, that Law is the Queen of Gods and men. But is it from a pagan, &c?*

THE ANSWER.

'Tis true, the Author has quoted Plutarch, who says, That Law is the Queen of Gods and men.

OBJECTION III.

THE Author has said, That "the creation, which seems to be an arbitrary act, supposes Laws as invariable as the fatality of the atheists." From these words the Critic concludes, that the Author admits the fatality of the atheists.

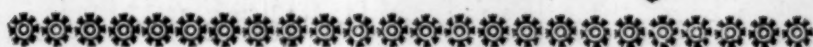
THE ANSWER.

A LITTLE before he has destroyed this fatality, by saying, "Those who assert that a blind fatality produced the various effects we behold in the world, are guilty of a very great absurdity: for can any thing be more

“ absurd than to pretend, that a blind fatality
 “ can produce intelligent beings.” Moreover,
 in the passage censured, the Author cannot be
 made to speak of any other subject but that he
 is treating of. He is not treating of causes,
 nor does he compare causes : but he treats of
 effects, and compares effects. The whole ar-
 ticle, that which precedes it, and that which
 follows, shew that he is here only treating of the
 rules of motion, which the Author asserts are
 established by God. He says, that these rules
 are invariable ; and all natural philosophy says
 so too. They are invariable, because God has
 resolved that they should be so, and because he
 has determined to preserve the world. He says
 neither more nor less than this.

I MUST always maintain, that the Critic ne-
 ver understands the sense of things, and that
 he applies his attention only to words. When
 the Author says, that the creation, which
 seems to be an arbitrary act, supposes rules as
 invariable as the fatality of the atheists, it can-
 not be understood as if he had said, the crea-
 tion was as necessary an act as the fatality of
 the atheists, since he had already shewn the
 absurdity of that fatality. Moreover, the two
 members of a comparison ought to have a re-
 lation

lation to each other : therefore it is absolutely necessary that the sentence should run thus : The creation, which seems at first to have produced Laws of variable motion, has those as invariable as the fatality of the atheists. The Critic, once more, has neither seen, nor does see, any thing but words.



II.

THERE is then no Spinosism in The Spirit of Laws. Let us pass to another accusation ; and see if it be true, That the Author does not acknowledge the truth of revealed religion. The author, at the end of the first chapter, speaking of man as a finite being subject to ignorance and error, has said : “ Such a being “ might every instant forget his creator ; God “ has therefore reminded him of his duty by “ the Laws of religion.”

HE has said, in the first chapter of the twenty fourth book : “ I shall examine the several “ religions of the world, in relation only to the “ good they produce in civil society, whether I “ speak of that which has its root in heaven, or “ of those which spring from the earth.

" A PERSON of the least degree of impar-
 " ality must see, that I have never pretended
 " to make the interests of religion submit to
 " those of a political nature, but rather to unite
 " them : now, in order to unite, it is necessary
 " that we should know them. The christian
 " religion, which ordains that men should love
 " each other, would without doubt have every
 " nation blest with the best civil, the best poli-
 " tical Laws ; because these, next to this reli-
 " gion, are the greatest good that men can give
 " and receive."

AND, in the second chapter of the same
 book : " A Prince who loves and fears religion
 " is a lion, who stoops to the hand that strokes,
 " or the voice that appeases him. He who
 " fears and hates religion, is like the savage
 " • beast, that growls, and bites the chain which
 " prevents his flying on the passenger. He
 " who has no religion at all, is that terrible
 " animal, who perceives his liberty only when
 " he tears in pieces and devours."

IN the third chapter of the same book ;
 " While the Mahometan Princes incessantly
 " give or receive death, the religion of the
 " Christians

“ Christians renders their Princes less timid,
 “ and consequently less cruel. The Prince
 “ confides in his subjects ; and the subjects in
 “ the Prince. How admirable the religion
 “ which, while it seems only to have in view
 “ the felicity of the other life, constitutes the
 “ happiness of this !”

IN the fourth chapter of the same book :
 “ From the characters of the Christian and
 “ Mahometan religions we ought, without any
 “ further examination, to embrace the one,
 “ and reject the other.” To proceed :

IN the sixth chapter : “ Mr. Bayle, after
 “ having abused all religions, endeavours to
 “ fully Christianity : he boldly asserts, that true
 “ Christians cannot form a government of any
 “ duration. Why not ? Citizens of this pro-
 “ fession, being infinitely enlightened, with re-
 “ spect to the various duties of life, and having
 “ the warmest zeal to fulfil them, must be
 “ perfectly sensible of the rights of natural de-
 “ fence. The more they believed themselves
 “ indebted to religion, the more they would
 “ think due to their country. The principles
 “ of Christianity, deeply engraven on the
 “ heart, would be infinitely more powerful
 R 4 “ than

“ than the false honour of monarchies, the
 “ humane virtues of republics, or the fer-
 “ vile fear of despotic states.

“ IT is astonishing, that this great man
 “ should not be able to distinguish between the
 “ orders for the establishment of Christianity,
 “ and Christianity itself; and that he should be
 “ liable to be charged with not knowing the
 “ spirit of his own religion. When the legis-
 “ lator, instead of Laws, has given counsels,
 “ this is because he knew, that if these coun-
 “ sels were ordained as Laws, they would be
 “ contrary to the spirit of the Laws them-
 “ selves.”

IN the tenth chapter: “ Could I for a mo-
 “ ment cease to think that I am a Christian, I
 “ should not be able to hinder myself from
 “ ranking the destruction of the sect of Zeno
 “ among the misfortunes that have befallen
 “ the human race, &c. Laying aside for a
 “ moment revealed truths, let us search thro’
 “ all nature, and we shall not find a nobler ob-
 “ ject than the Antoninuses, &c.”

IN the thirteenth chapter: “ The Pagan
 “ religion indeed, that prohibited only some
 “ of

“ of the groffer crimes, that stopped the
 “ hand, but meddled not with the heart,
 “ might have crimes that were inexpiable : but
 “ a religion which bridles all the paffions;
 “ which is not more jealous of actions, than of
 “ thoughts and defires; which holds us not
 “ by a few chains, but by an infinite number
 “ of threads; which, laying human juftice
 “ afide, eftablifhes another kind of juftice;
 “ which is fo ordered as to lead us continually
 “ from repentance to love, and from love to
 “ repentance; which puts between the judge
 “ and the criminal a great mediator; between
 “ the juft and the mediator a great judge : a
 “ religion like this ought not to have crimes in
 “ themfelves inexpiable. But though it gives
 “ fear and hope to all, it makes us fufficiently
 “ fenfible, that there is no crime in its own
 “ nature inexpiable, though a whole criminal
 “ life may be fo; that it is extremely danger-
 “ ous to affront mercy by new crimes and
 “ new expiations; that an uneafinefs on ac-
 “ count of ancient debts, from which we are
 “ never free, ought to make us afraid of con-
 “ tracting new ones, of filling up the mea-
 “ fure, and going to that point where paternal
 “ goodnefs is limited.”

IN the conclusion of the nineteenth chapter, the Author, after having shewn an abuse that has arisen in several Pagan religions with respect to their opinion of the state of souls in another life, says : “ It is not enough for religion to establish a doctrine ; it must also direct its influence. This the Christian religion performs in the most admirable manner, particularly with regard to the doctrines of which we have been speaking. It makes us hope for a state that is the object of our belief ; not for a state we have already experienced or known. Thus every article, even the resurrection of the body, leads us to spiritual ideas.”

AND at the conclusion of the twenty sixth chapter : “ It follows from hence, that it is almost always proper for a religion to have particular doctrines, and a general worship. In Laws concerning the practice of religious worship, there ought to be but few particulars : for instance, they should command mortification in general, and not a certain kind of mortification. Christianity is full of good sense : abstinence is of divine institution ; but a particular kind of abstinence is
“ ordained

“ ordained by a political Law, and therefore
 “ may be changed.”

IN the last chapter of the twenty fifth book :
 “ But it does not follow, that a religion brought
 “ from a far distant country, and quite differ-
 “ ent in climate, laws, manners, and customs,
 “ will have all the success to which its holiness
 “ ought to intitle it.”

IN the third chapter of the twenty fourth
 book : “ ’Tis the Christian religion that, in
 “ spite of the empire and the influence of the
 “ climate, has hindered despotic power from
 “ being established in Æthiopia, and has car-
 “ ried into the midst of Africa the manners
 “ and Laws of Europe, &c. Not far from
 “ thence may be seen the Mahometan shut-
 “ ting up the children of the King of Sennao ;
 “ at whose death the council sends to murder
 “ them, in favour of the Prince who mounts
 “ the throne.

“ LET us set before our eyes, on the one
 “ hand, the continual massacres of the Kings
 “ and Generals of the Greeks and Romans ;
 “ and, on the other, the destruction of people
 “ and cities by the commanders Thimur and
 “ Gengis-

“ Gengis-Kan, who ravaged Asia; and we
 “ shall see that we owe to Christianity, in go-
 “ vernment, a certain political Law, and, in
 “ war, a certain Law of nations; benefits
 “ which human nature can never sufficiently
 “ acknowledge.” The Reader is desired to
 peruse the whole chapter.

IN the eighth chapter of the twenty fourth
 book: “ In a country so unfortunate as to have
 “ a religion which God has not revealed, it is
 “ always necessary that it should be agreeable
 “ to morality, because even a false religion is
 “ the best security we can have of the probity
 “ of men.”

THESE passages are very explicit. We here
 see a writer, who not only believes the Christ-
 ian religion, but who loves it. What has the
 Critic said to prove the contrary? Let it be
 once more observed, that the proofs ought to
 be proportionable to the accusation: and as
 that accusation is not of a frivolous nature, nei-
 ther ought the proofs to be so. But as these
 proofs are always given in a pretty extraordi-
 nary form, they being a mixture of half proof
 and half abuse, and in a manner concealed in
 the

the train of a very vague discourse ; I am going to search for them.

OBJECTION I.

THE Author has praised the Stoics, who admitted a blind fatality, a necessary chain, &c *. This is the foundation of natural religion.

THE ANSWER

SUPPOSE for a moment that this false manner of reasoning is just. Has the Author praised the natural philosophy and metaphysics of the Stoics ? He has praised their morals ; he has said, that the people obtained great advantages from them : he has said this, and he has said no more.—I am mistaken ; he has said more : for, in the first page of the book, he has attacked the fatality of the Stoics ; he did not then praise it, when he praised the Stoics.

OBJECTION II.

THE Author has praised Bayle in calling him a great man †.

* The second piece, of October 16, 1749, pag. 165.

† Ibid.

A N S W E R.

I WILL here too suppose for a moment, that in general this manner of reasoning is just : but, at least, it is not so in this case. 'Tis true, the Author has called Bayle a great man ; but he has censured his opinions. If he has censured them, he does not admit them : and since he has attacked his opinions, he does not call him a great man on their account. Every body knows, that Bayle had a great capacity ; of which he has made an ill use : but that capacity which he misused, he had. The Author has, therefore, attacked his sophisms, and complained of his errors. I do not love the men who overthrow the laws of their country ; but I should find it difficult to believe, that Cæsar and Cromwel were men of mean capacities. I am not fond of conquerors ; but it would not be an easy matter to persuade me, that Alexander and Gengis-Kan were men of a common genius. It would not, indeed, have required any great abilities in the Author to have called Bayle an abominable man : but whether he owes this disposition to nature, or whether it is an effect of his education, it appears that he is not fond of using abusive language. I have reason to believe that, was he
to

to take up the pen, he would not treat in that manner even those who have endeavoured to do him one of the greatest injuries that one man can do to another, by labouring to render him odious to all those who do not know him, and suspected by all who do.

BESIDES, I have remarked, that the declamations of angry men make little impression on those who are not themselves angry. Most readers are men of moderation, who seldom take a book but in cool blood. Reasonable men love reason ; and if the Author had uttered against Bayle a thousand abusive expressions, it would not have followed from thence, that Bayle had reasoned either well, or ill : all that could have been concluded from it would have been, that the Author knew how to be abusive.

OBJECTION III.

Is drawn from the Author's not having treated, in his first chapter, of original sin*.

A N S W E R.

I ASK every sensible man, whether that chapter be a treatise on theology ? Had the

* The piece of the 9th of October 1749, pag. 162.

Author treated of original sin, he might in the same manner have been charged with not having mentioned the redemption of mankind ; and thus they might have proceeded, from article to article, to infinity.

OBJECTION IV.

Is drawn from the Author's having begun his work in a very different manner from Mr. Domat ; who has first treated of revelation.

A N S W E R.

'Tis true Mr. Domat has begun his work in a different manner from the Author, and has first treated of revelation.

OBJECTION V.

THE Author has followed Pope's system in his Essay on Man.

A N S W E R.

THROUGHOUT the whole work he has not one word of Pope's system.

OBJECTION VI.

The Author says, That the Law which prescribes to Man his duty towards God, is the most important ; but he denies that it is the first : he pretends,

pretends, that the first Law of nature is peace; that men begin with being afraid of each other, &c. But every child knows, that the first Law is to love God; and that the second is to love his neighbour.

A N S W E R.

THESE are the Author's words: "The Law which, imprinting in our minds the idea of a Creator, inclines us to him, is the first of the natural Laws in its importance, tho' not in its order. Man, in a state of nature, would have the power of knowing before he had acquired knowledge. 'Tis evident that his first ideas would be far from being of a speculative nature; he would think of the preservation of his being before he would investigate its origin. Such a man would at first feel nothing in himself but impotency. His fears and apprehensions would be excessive; as appears from instances (were there any necessity of proving it) of savages found in forests, ever trembling, and flying from every shadow *." The Author has then said, that the Law which, imprinting in us the idea of a Creator, inclines us to him, is the first of the natural

* Book i. chap. 2.

Laws. It is not unlawful for him, any more than for other philosophers and writers on the Law of nature, to consider man under various situations. He has therefore taken the liberty to suppose a man as if dropped from the clouds, left to himself, and without education, before the establishment of society. Well, the Author has said, that the first, the most important, and consequently the capital Law of nature, would be for him, as well as for all other men, to be inclined towards his Creator. It is also allowable for the Author to inquire what would be the first impression made on this man, and to examine the order in which these impressions would be traced in his brain : and he has believed, that he would have sensations before he made reflexions ; that the first, in the order of time, would be fear ; afterwards the want of food, &c. The Author has said, that the Law which, impressing on our minds the idea of a Creator, leads us to him, is the first of the natural Laws : the Critic says, that the first Law of nature is to love God : they are therefore only divided by abuse.

OBJECTION VII.

Is drawn from the first chapter of the first book ; where the Author having said that

that man is a limited being, has added: "Such a being might every instant forget his Creator; God has therefore reminded him of his duty by the Laws of religion." Now, says the Critic, What is the religion to which the Author here alludes? He doubtless speaks of natural religion; he then only believes natural religion.

A N S W E R.

LET us suppose again, that this manner of reasoning is just; and that when the Author speaks only of the religion of nature, we may conclude from thence that he only believes in that religion, and that he excludes revealed religion: Yet, in this place I maintain that he has spoken of revealed religion, and not of the religion of nature; for if he had meant the religion of nature, he must have been an idiot. It would have been as if he had said: Such a being might easily forget his Creator, that is, the religion of nature; God has therefore reminded him of his duty by the Laws of natural religion: so that God had given him the religion of nature, to perfect him in the religion of nature. Thus, to prepare himself for casting invectives on the Author, he begins by taking from his words their most evident sense,

in order to give them the most evident absurdity; and to obtain the advantage over him, he deprives him of common sense.

OBJECTION VIII.

THE Author, speaking of man, has said :
 “ Such a being might every instant forget his
 “ Creator ; God has therefore reminded him
 “ of his duty by the Laws of religion : such a
 “ being is liable every moment to forget him-
 “ self ; philosophy has provided against this
 “ by the Laws of morality : formed to live in
 “ society, he might forget his fellow creatures ;
 “ legislators have therefore, by political and
 “ civil Laws, confined him to his duty *.”
*Therefore, says the Critic, according to the Au-
 thor, the government is divided between God,
 the philosophers, and the legislators, &c. Where
 have the philosophers learned the Laws of mora-
 lity? Where have legislators seen what they
 ought to prescribe, in order to govern societies
 with equity †?*

A N S W E R.

IT is very easy to reply to this. They have taken it from revelation, if they have been so

* Book i. chap. i.
 October 1749, pag. 162.

† The piece of the 9th of

happy

happy as to be favoured with it: otherwise, they have taken it from that Law which, impressing on our minds the idea of a Creator, leads us towards him. Has the Author of the Spirit of Laws said with Virgil, *Cæsar shares the empire with Jupiter*? Has not God, the governour of the universe, given to certain men greater intellectual abilities, and to others greater power? You would maintain that the Author has said, that because God has been pleased to ordain that men should be governed by men, he is not willing that they should obey him, and that he has divested himself of the authority he had over them, &c. To such absurdities are those reduced, who are extremely weak at reasoning, but have great strength at declamation.

OBJECTION IX.

THE Critic continues: *It is also observable that the Author, who finds that God cannot govern free beings as well as others, because, being free, they are allowed the liberty of acting for themselves* (I shall observe by the way, that the Author does not make use of the expression, God cannot) *remedies this disorder no otherwise than by the Law, which shews men what they ought to do, but gives them not the power to*

do it. Thus, according to the Author's system, God has created beings whose irregularities he can neither hinder nor repair. Blind mortal! who does not see that God does what he requires from them, and that they can do nothing but what he pleases.

A N S W E R.

THE Critic had before reproached the Author with not having mentioned original sin. He again returns to the charge, and censures him for not having spoken of grace. It is an unhappy thing to have to do with a man who censures all the articles of a book, and has only one predominant idea. He is not unlike the curate of the village to whom some astronomers shewing the moon through a telescope, he could see nothing but a steeple.

THE Author of The Spirit of Laws thought he ought to begin with giving some idea of Laws in general, and of the Law of nature and nations. The subject was immense; and yet he has included it in two chapters: he was therefore obliged to omit a great number of things that belonged to his subject; and with much better reason has he omitted those which had no relation to it.

O B-

OBJECTION X.

The Author has said, that in England self-murder is the effect of a disease, and that they can no more punish it than they can punish the effects of madness. A follower of the religion of nature cannot forget that England is the cradle of his sect. He wipes a sponge over all the crimes he perceives there.

ANSWER.

THE Author does not know, that England is the cradle of the religion of nature. But he knows that England is not his cradle, on account of his having mentioned a physical effect, which he himself observed in England. His sentiments of religion are no more like those of the English, than those of an Englishman, who treats of the physical effects that have happened in France, are like those of a Frenchman. The Author of *The Spirit of Laws* is not a follower of natural religion; but he would be glad to have his Critic a follower of natural logic.

I BELIEVE I have already made the terrible arms used by the Critic drop from his hand: and I am now going to give an idea of his ex-

ordium; which is such, that I am afraid my mentioning it here will be thought to be done by way of derision.

He says at first, and these are his words: That *the book of The Spirit of Laws* is one of those irregular productions, that were never so numerous till after the arrival of the bull *Unigenitus*. Is it not enough to make one laugh, to suppose that the arrival of *The Spirit of Laws* is caused by the arrival of the constitution *Unigenitus*? The bull *Unigenitus* is not the occasional cause of the book of *The Spirit of Laws*; but the bull *Unigenitus*, and the book of *The Spirit of Laws*, have been the occasional causes of the Critic's having made so shrewd a remark.

THE Critic continues: *The Author says that he has often begun, and as often laid aside his work. However, when he threw his first productions into the fire, he was less distant from the truth, than when he began to be satisfied with his labours. How does he know that? He adds: If the Author had been willing to follow a beaten path, his work would have cost him less pains. How again does he know that? He afterwards pronounces this oracle: It does not*
require

require much penetration to perceive, that The Spirit of Laws is founded on the system of natural religion. It has been shewn in the letters against Pope's Essay on Man, that the system of natural religion is connected with that of Spinoza: this is enough to inspire a Christian with horror at the new book of which we are here giving an account.

I REPLY, that this is not only enough, but even too much. But I have just proved, that the Author's system is not that of the religion of nature; and supposing that natural religion is connected with Spinoza's system, the Author's system is not that of Spinoza, since it is not that of the religion of nature.

He would then inspire us with horror, before he has proved that we ought to be filled with horror.

THESE are the two forms of reasoning diffused through the two pieces I have undertaken to answer. The Author of The Spirit of Laws is a follower of natural religion: we must then explain what he says there by the principles of natural religion: therefore, if what he says there is founded on the principles
of

of natural religion, he is a follower of natural religion.

THE other form of reasoning is this: The Author of *The Spirit of Laws* is a follower of the religion of nature: what he then says in his book in favour of revelation is only to conceal his being a follower of the religion of nature: therefore, if he thus conceals himself, he is a follower of the religion of nature.

BEFORE I conclude this first part, I shall be tempted to make an objection to him that has made so many. He has so terrified our ears with the phrase, follower of the religion of nature, that I, who defend the Author, scarcely dare to pronounce the word. I will however take courage. Do not these two pieces require more explication than that I defend? Does he do well, when he is treating of natural religion and revelation, to throw himself perpetually on one side, and to cause all traces of the other to be intirely lost? Does he do well never to distinguish those who acknowledge only the religion of nature, from those who acknowledge both natural and revealed religion? Does he do well to be frightened whenever the Author considers man in a state
of

of nature, and when he explains any thing on the principles of natural religion? Does he do well to confound the religion of nature with atheism? Have I not always heard, that all of us have the religion of nature? Have I not heard, that Christianity is the perfection of natural religion? Have I not heard, that people make use of arguments drawn from the religion of nature, in proof of a revelation, against the Deists; and that we employ the same natural religion, to prove the existence of God against the Atheists? He says that the Stoics were the followers of natural religion: and I, that they were atheists*; since they believed that the universe was governed by a blind fatality, and that, from natural religion, we ought to oppose the opinion of the Stoics. He says, that the system of natural religion is connected

* See the piece of October 9, 1749, pag. 165. "The Stoics admitted the existence of only one God: but this God was no other than the soul of the universe. They maintained, that all beings, up to the First Cause, were united together in the manner of a chain; a fatal necessity drew the whole. They denied the immortality of the soul, and made the sovereign happiness consist in living conformably to nature. This is the foundation of the system of natural religion."

with

with that of Spinoza †: and I, that they are contradictory, and that it is by natural religion we overthrow Spinoza's system. I say, that to confound the religion of nature with atheism, is to confound the proof with the thing we would prove, and the objection against the error with the error itself; and that it is to deprive us of the powerful arms of which we are possessed against that error. God forbid that I should impute any ill design to the Critic, or take advantage of the consequences that might be drawn from his principles. Though he has treated the Author with very little indulgence, I would shew some to him. I only say, that the metaphysical ideas in his brain are very confused; that he has not the least power of separating them; that he is incapable of forming a good judgment, because, among the various things he might see, he never sees but one. In this I have no design of making him reproaches, but merely of destroying those he has made.

† See the first piece of October 9, 1749, page 161, at the end of the first column.

A
D E F E N C E
O F

The S P I R I T of L A W S.

P A R T II.

The G E N E R A L I D E A.

I HAVE already cleared the Author of The Spirit of Laws from the two general reproaches that have been cast upon him : but there are still some particular imputations, to which it is necessary for me to reply. But to throw the greater light on what I have said, and on what will be hereafter added, I shall explain what has given room, or served as a pretence for making invectives.

MEN of the best sense in the several countries of Europe, men of the greatest learning, and most distinguished for their wisdom, have
confi-

considered The Spirit of Laws as an useful work : they have thought that the morals, in which it abounds, are pure ; that the principles it contains are just, and that it is proper to form worthy members of society ; that the Author there destroys pernicious opinions, and encourages those that are good.

ON the other hand, here is a man who treats it as a dangerous book, and makes it the subject of the most outrageous invectives. This requires some explications.

So far from having understood the particular passages on which he has spent his criticism, he has not even discovered what is the subject of which the Author treats. Thus vainly beating the air, and fighting against the wind, he has gained triumphs of the same kind : he has wrote a good criticism on the book he had in his head ; but has not wrote a critic on that of the Author. But how was it possible for him thus to mistake both the subject and design of a book placed before his eyes ? Persons of sense see at the first glance, that the objects of this work are the Laws, the various customs, and manners, of all the nations on earth. It may be said, that the subject

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is of prodigious extent, as it comprehends all the institutions received among mankind; as these institutions are distinguished by the Author, who examines those that are most agreeable to society in general, and to each society in particular; and as he searches into their origin, discovers their physical and moral causes; examines those which have any intrinsic goodness, and those that have none; of two pernicious practices, he inquires which is most, and which least pernicious; and treats of those that in some respects may have a good effect, and a bad one in others. He has imagined that these researches would be useful, because judgment and good sense consist in knowing the shades of things.

Now in a subject of such extent, it became necessary to treat of religion: for there being but one true religion, and an infinite number of others that are false; one religion sent from heaven, and an infinity of others that had their birth on this globe: he could regard the false religions only as human institutions; and therefore was obliged to examine them, as well as all the other institutions of human origin. But as to the Christian religion, he had nothing to do but to pay it his adorations as being divine.

divine. He did not think himself obliged to treat of that religion; because he considered it, as in its own nature not subject to his examination, so that when he has mentioned it, it has never been done to introduce it into the plan of his work, but only to pay it the tribute of respect and love due to it from all Christians; and that in the comparisons he might draw between that religion and the others, he might make it triumph over them all. This is visible throughout the whole work: but the author has particularly explained himself at the beginning of book xxiv. the first of the two books that treat of religion. He begins thus: “As amidst the several degrees of darkness, we may form a judgment of those which are the least thick, and, among precipices, which are the least deep; so we may search among false religions for those that are most conformable to the welfare of the society; for those which, though they have not the effect of leading men to the felicity of the other life, may contribute most to their happiness in this.

“I SHALL therefore only examine the several religions in the world, in relation to the good they produce in civil society; whether

“ ther I speak of that which has its root in
 “ heaven, or of those which spring from the
 “ earth.”

THE Author therefore, regarding human religions only as human institutions, was in the right to treat of them, because they necessarily entered into his plan. He did not go out of his way to seek for them ; but they came in search of him. And as to the Christian religion, he has only mentioned it occasionally ; because, in its own nature, it could not be modified, mitigated, and corrected, and therefore did not enter into the plan he had proposed.

WHAT has he done then to give so full a scope to declamation, and to open so wide a door to invective ? The author has been considered as if, after the example of M. Abbadie, he had resolved to write a treatise on the Christian religion ; he has been attacked, as if his two books on religion were two treatises on Christian divinity. He has been charged, as if speaking of any religion whatsoever that had no relation to the Christian, it had been his business to examine it according to the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. He has

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been

been judged, as if he had undertaken, in his two books, to form an establishment in behalf of the Christians, and to preach the doctrines of Christianity to Mahometans and Idolaters. Whenever he has mentioned religion in general, whenever he has used the word religion, it is said, This is the Christian religion. Whenever he has compared the religious rites of any nation whatsoever, and has said, that some of these rites were more conformable to the political government of the country, than others ; it is said, You then approve them, and abandon the Christian faith. When he has mentioned any people who have not embraced Christianity, or who lived before the coming of Christ, it is said, You then do not acknowledge the Christian moral. When he has examined, in a political writer, any custom whatsoever, it is said, Was this the doctrine of Christianity you ought to have inculcated? You say, that you are a Civilian ; and I will make you a Divine in spite of yourself. You in some places say some very fine things in favour of the Christian religion ; but you only say them to conceal yourself : for I know your heart, and read your thoughts. 'Tis true, I don't understand your book ; it is of no consequence whether I have penetrated rightly,

or not, into the view with which it was written: but I dive to the bottom of your thoughts. I don't know a word you say: but I understand very well what you think. Let us enter now into the subject.

Of the COUNSELS of RELIGION.

THE Author, in the book on religion, has attacked the errors of Bayle. These are his words*: “ Mr. Bayle, after having abused all
“ religions, endeavours to fally Christianity.
“ He boldly asserts, that true Christians cannot
“ form a government of any duration. Why
“ not? Citizens of this profession, being infinitely enlightened with respect to the various
“ duties of life, and having the warmest zeal
“ to fulfil them, must be perfectly sensible of
“ the rights of natural defence. The more
“ they believed themselves indebted to religion, the more they would think due to
“ their country. The principles of Christianity, deeply engraven on the heart, would be
“ infinitely more powerful than the false honour of monarchies, the humane virtues of
“ republics, or the servile fear of despotic
“ states.

* Book xxiv. chap. 6.

" It is astonishing that this great man should
 " not be able to distinguish between the or-
 " ders for the establishment of Christianity,
 " and Christianity itself: and that he should
 " be liable to be charged with not knowing
 " the spirit of his own religion. When the
 " legislator instead of Laws gave counsels, it
 " was because he knew, that if those counsels
 " were ordained as Laws, they would be con-
 " trary to the spirit of the Laws themselves."

WHAT has the Critic done to deprive the
 Author of the honour of having thus attacked
 one of Bayle's errors? He has taken the fol-
 lowing chapter, which has nothing to do with
 Bayle *. " Human Laws made to direct the
 " will, it is there said, ought to give precepts,
 " and not counsels: religion, which is formed
 " to influence the heart, ought to give many
 " counsels, and few precepts." Whence it is
 concluded, that the Author considers all the
 precepts of the Gospel only as counsels. He
 in return, might also say, that he who made
 this criticism considers all the counsels of the
 gospel as precepts: but this is not his manner
 of reasoning, and still less is it his manner of

* That is, Book xxiv. chap. 7.

acting. Let us come to the point. It will here be proper to lengthen out a little what the Author has represented in a manner extremely concise. Mr. Bayle had maintained, that a society of Christians could not subsist; and alledged as the reason the order of the Gospel, When thou art smote on one cheek, turn the other also; the command to leave the world to retire into desarts, &c. The Author says, that Bayle took for precepts what were only counsels; for general rules what were only particular ones. In this the Author has defended religion. But what has this occasioned? It is laid down as the first article of his creed, that all the books of the Gospel contain only counsels.

OF POLYGAMY.

OTHER articles have likewise furnished commodious subjects of declamation. Polygamy afforded an excellent one. The Author has wrote a chapter expressly upon it; in which he has censured it. It is as follows:

“ Of Polygamy considered in itself.

“ WITH regard to polygamy in general,
“ independently of the circumstances that may

“ render it tolerated, it is not of the least service
 “ to mankind, nor to either of the two sexes,
 “ whether it be that which abuses, or that
 “ which is abused. Neither is it of service to
 “ the children ; for one of its greatest incon-
 “ veniences is, that the father and mother
 “ cannot have the same affection for their off-
 “ spring ; a father cannot love twenty children
 “ with the same tenderness that a mother can
 “ love two. It is much worse when a wife
 “ has many husbands ; for then paternal love
 “ is only held by this opinion, that a father
 “ may believe if he will, .or that others may
 “ believe, that certain children belong to him.

“ MAY I not say that a plurality of wives
 “ leads to that passion which nature disallows ?
 “ for one depravation always draws on ano-
 “ ther, &c.

“ BESIDES, the possession of many wives
 “ does not always prevent their entertaining
 “ desires for those of others. It is with lust as
 “ with avarice, where the thirst is increased by
 “ the acquisition of treasures.

“ IN the reign of Justinian, many philo-
 “ sophers, displeased with the restraints of
 “ Chris-

“ Christianity, retired into Persia. What there
 “ struck them most, says Agathias, was that
 “ polygamy was permitted amongst men who
 “ did not even abstain from adultery.”

THE Author has then maintained, that polygamy is in its own nature, and considered in itself, pernicious. It was necessary to overlook this chapter; and therefore no notice is taken of it. The Author has, besides, made a philosophical examination, in what country, in what climate, and in what circumstances, its effects are least pernicious; he compares climate with climate, and country with country; and has found those where its effects are less prejudicial than in others; because, according to the accounts that have been published, the number of men and women not being equal in all countries, it is evident that, if there are places where the women are much more numerous than the men, polygamy, tho’ bad in itself, is less so there than in other countries. The Author has discussed this point in the fourth chapter of the same book. But the title of this chapter consisting of these words, *That the Law of Polygamy is an affair that depends on calculations*, the Critic has seized hold of this title. However, as the title of a chapter

ter relates to the chapter itself, and can say neither more nor less than the chapter, let us see it.

“ ACCORDING to the calculations made in
 “ several parts of Europe, there are here born
 “ more boys than girls: on the contrary, the
 “ accounts we have of Asia inform us, there
 “ are born in that part of the world more girls
 “ than boys. The Law which in Europe al-
 “ lows only one wife, and that in Asia which
 “ permits many, have then a certain relation
 “ to the climate.

“ IN the cold climates in Asia there are
 “ born, as in Europe, more males than fe-
 “ males; and from hence, say the Lamas, is
 “ derived the reason of that Law which,
 “ amongst them, permits a woman to have
 “ many husbands.

“ BUT it is difficult for me to believe, that
 “ there are many countries where the dispro-
 “ portion can be great enough for any exi-
 “ gency to justify the introducing either the
 “ Law in favour of many wives, or that of
 “ many husbands. This would only imply
 “ that a majority of women, or even a ma-
 “ jority

“jority of men, is more conformable to nature in certain countries, than in others.

“ I CONFESS that, if what history tells us be true, that at Bantam there are ten women to one man, this must be a case particularly favourable to polygamy.

“ IN all this I only give their reasons, but do not justify their customs.”

LET us now return to the title: *Polygamy is an affair of calculation.* Yes it is, when we would know if it be more or less pernicious in certain climates, in certain countries, and in certain circumstances, than in others. It is not an affair of calculation, when we are to determine whether it be good or bad in itself.

IT is not an affair of calculation, when we reason on its nature; it may be an affair of calculation, when we combine its effects. In short, it is never an affair of calculation, when we examine the end of marriage; and it is much less so, when we consider marriage as established, or confirmed, by Jesus Christ.

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I SHALL here add, that what has happened by mere accident, is of great service to the Author. He doubtless did not foresee, that the Critic would overlook a whole chapter expressed in the plainest terms, in order to give an equivocal sense to another; and yet he had the happiness to conclude this other with these words: "In all this, I only give their reasons; but do not justify their customs."

THE Author had just said, that he did not believe that there could be climates where the number of the women could so greatly exceed that of the men, or the number of the men that of the women, as to justify polygamy in any country; and has added, "This would only imply that a majority of women, or even of men, is more conformable to nature in certain countries, than in others*." The Critic has seized the word, *is more conformable to nature*, in order to charge the Author with approving polygamy. But if I say, that I had rather have a fever than the scurvy, Will that be a declaration that I am fond of a fever; or only that the scurvy is less disagreeable to me than a fever?

* Book xvi. chap. 4.

HERE follows, word for word, a very extraordinary objection.

The polygamy of one woman who has many husbands, is a monstrous disorder, which was never permitted in any case, and which the Author does not at all distinguish from the polygamy of a man who has several wives †. This language, from a sectary of natural religion, needs no comment.

I BEG that attention may be paid to the connexion of the Critic's ideas. According to him it follows that, as the Author is a sectary of the religion of nature, he did not mention what he had no business to mention; or that the Author has not mentioned what he had no business to mention, because he is a follower of natural religion. These two methods of reasoning are of the same kind, and the consequences drawn from them are equally found in the premisses. The usual manner is to criticize upon what a person writes; but here the criticism is bestowed upon what he does not write.

† The piece of October 9, 1749, pag. 164.

I SAY this, supposing with the Critic that the Author has not distinguished the polygamy of a woman who has several husbands from that of a husband who has several wives: but if the Author has distinguished them, what will he say? And what will he say, if the Author has shewn, that the abuse in the first case is much the greatest? I desire the reader to peruse the sixth chapter of book xvi. repeated above. The Critic has treated him with invectives for keeping silence with respect to this article: nothing remains but to make them for not keeping silence.

BUT here is what I cannot comprehend. The Critic says, in the second of his pieces, page 166. *The Author has told us, that religion ought to permit polygamy in hot countries, and not in those that are cold.* But the Author has no where said this. This is a question that does not turn upon the false reasoning of the Critic against the Author, but on a matter of fact: and as the Author has never said, that religion ought to permit polygamy in hot, and not in cold countries, the imputation is in its own nature both false and cruel; and therefore

therefore I desire the Critic to pass judgment on himself.

THIS is not the only passage of which the Author has had reason to complain: for, in page 163. of the first piece, the Critic says: *The fourth chapter has for its title, That the Law of polygamy is an affair of calculation: that is, in places where there are born more boys than girls, as in Europe, we ought to have but one wife; and in those where there are born more girls than boys, polygamy ought to be introduced.* Thus when the Author explains customs, or gives the reasons of their being founded, those reasons are turned into maxims, and, what is more barbarous still, into maxims of religion: and as he has mentioned an infinite number of customs and practices, throughout all the countries upon earth, he may, by a parity of reason, be charged with all the errors, and even all the abominations of the universe. The Critic says, at the end of his first piece, that God has given him some zeal; to which I reply, that God has not given him this.

ON CLIMATE.

WHAT the Author has said on the effects of different Climates is also another excellent topic

topic of rhetoric. But all effects whatsoever have their causes : the climate and the other physical causes produce an infinite number of effects ; and if the Author had said otherwise, he would have been considered as extremely stupid. The question is reduced to this : Whether, in countries placed at a great distance from each other, or whether in different climates, there are the marks of a national spirit. Now that there are such differences, is established by almost the universal consent of writers. As the impressions of this national spirit have a considerable influence on the dispositions of the heart, it cannot be at all questioned that certain dispositions of heart are more frequent in one country than another ; and, in proof of this, we have also the testimony of an infinite number of writers in all times and places. As these things are merely human, the Author has treated them in that light. He might indeed have added to them many questions debated in the schools, with respect to the humane and christian virtues ; but it is not usual to crowd these questions into books of natural philosophy, politics, and civil law. In a word, the climate may be the physical cause of producing various dispositions of mind ; these dispositions may have
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an influence on human actions : but how does this give a shock to the throne of him who has created, or to the merits of him who has bought us ?

IF the Author has inquired what the magistrates of various countries might do, in order to conduct their several nations in a manner most proper, and most suitable to their respective characters, what harm has he done in this ?

ONE may also reason on the local customs of religion. The Author had no business to consider them as either good or bad : he has only said, that there are climates where certain religious customs were more easily received, that is, the people in those climates were more easily accustomed to them, than the people in others. Of this it would be unnecessary to give examples ; there are an hundred thousand.

I AM very sensible, that religion is, in its own nature, independent of any physical effects whatsoever : that what is good in one country is good in another : and that it cannot be bad in one country, without being bad in all.

all. But, as it is practised by men, and for men, there are places where a particular religion is more easily practised, either in part, or in the whole, in one certain country than in others, and in certain circumstances than in others. And whoever asserts the contrary must divest himself of common sense.

THE Author has remarked, that the climate of the Indies has produced there a certain sweetness of manners. But, says the Critic, *The women there burn themselves at the death of their husbands.* There is but little philosophy in this objection. Is the Critic ignorant of the contradictions of the human mind, and how readily it can separate things the most closely united, and unite those that are the most widely separated. See the Author's reflexions on this subject in book xiv. chap. 3.

OF TOLERATION.

ALL the Author has said on toleration relates to this proposition in book xxv. chap. 9.
 “ We are here politicians, and not divines: but
 “ the divines themselves must allow, that there
 “ is a great difference between tolerating, and
 “ approving a religion.

“ WHEN

“ WHEN legislators have believed it their
 “ duty to permit the exercise of many reli-
 “ gions, they are also under the obligation of
 “ enforcing a toleration amongst these reli-
 “ gions themselves.” The reader is desired to
 peruse the whole chapter.

A GREAT outcry has been raised against the
 Author for having added in the next chapter :
 “ This is then a fundamental principle of the
 “ political Laws of religion, That when a state
 “ is at liberty to receive or reject a new reli-
 “ gion, it ought to be rejected ; when it is re-
 “ ceived, it ought to be tolerated.”

It is here objected to the Author, that he
 is going to inform idolatrous Princes, that they
 ought to shut Christianity out of their states.
 Really it is a secret that it was ever whispered
 to the King of Cochin-China. As this argu-
 ment has furnished matter for much decla-
 mation, I shall give two answers. The first is,
 That the Author has excepted it by name in his
 book on religion. He has said in book xxiv.
 chap. 1. “ The Christian religion, which or-
 “ dains that men should love each other,
 “ would doubtless have every nation blest with

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“ the

“ the best civil, the best political Laws ; be-
 “ cause these, next to this religion, are the
 “ greatest good that men can give and receive.”
 If then the Christian religion is the first and
 principal good, and political and civil Laws
 the second, there are no political or civil Laws
 in a state that can or ought to hinder the en-
 trance of the Christian religion.

My second answer is, that the religion sent
 from heaven is not established by the same
 methods as the religions of the earth. Read
 the history of the church, and you will see
 the wonders of the Christian religion. Has
 she resolved to enter a country?—she knows
 how to open its gates, and all instruments are
 proper for that purpose : sometimes God makes
 use of a few fishermen ; at others, he places an
 Emperor on the throne, and makes him bend
 his neck under the yoke of the Gospel. Is
 Christianity concealed in caverns, and subter-
 raneous abodes ? stay a moment, and you will
 see the Imperial Majesty speak in her behalf.
 She, whenever she pleases, crosses the seas,
 rivers, and mountains ; and no obstacles here
 below can stop her progress. Place repug-
 nance in the mind ; she will make it fly be-
 fore her : establish customs, form habits, pub-
 lish

lish edicts, make Laws ; she will triumph over the climate, the Laws that result from it, and the legislators who made them. God, according to decrees concealed from us, extends or contracts the limits of his religion as he pleases.

WE are told : That this is as if you went to the Kings of the East, and told them they ought not to receive the Christian religion among them. How carnal is it to talk in this manner ! Is the Messiah a man like Herod ? It seems as if Jesus Christ was considered as a King who conceals his stratagems and intelligences. Let us do ourselves justice : Is the manner in which we conduct ourselves in human affairs so pure, as to allow us to think of employing it in the conversion of nations ?

OF C E L I B A C Y.

WE now come to the article of celibacy. All that the Author has said of it relates to this proposition, which is found in book xxv. chap. 4. " I shall not here treat of the consequences of the Law of celibacy : it is evident it may become hurtful, in proportion as the body of the clergy may be too nu-

“ merous ; and, in consequence of this, that
 “ of the laity too small.” It is evident, that
 the Author here speaks only of the greater or
 less extension that ought to be allowed to celi-
 bacy, with respect to the greater or less number
 of those who embrace it : and, as the Author
 says in another place, that Law of perfection
 cannot be made for all mankind. Besides, we
 know, that the Law of celibacy, as it now
 subsists, is only a Law of discipline. The Spi-
 rit of Laws has no where considered the na-
 ture of celibacy, or the degree of its goodness ;
 and that is not a subject that ought to enter at
 all into a book of political and civil Laws.
 The Critic, however, would never allow the
 Author to treat his own subject : he is conti-
 nually for having him treat of his ; and be-
 cause he is always a divine, he will not suffer
 him, even in a book of Laws, to be a civilian.
 However we shall soon see that, with respect to
 celibacy, he is of the same opinion as the di-
 vines ; that is, that he acknowledges its good-
 ness. It must be observed, that in book xxiii.
 where he treats of Laws in relation to the
 number of inhabitants, the Author has given a
 theory of what the political and civil Laws of
 different people have done in this respect. He
 has shewn, by examining the histories of the
 several

several nations of the earth, that there have been particular circumstances in which these Laws were more necessary, than others, people who had more need of them, and certain times when these people had still more need of them: and, as it is thought that the Romans were the wisest people upon earth, and that they had more need of these Laws to repair their losses, he has collected with great exactness the Laws they made for that purpose; he has pointed out, with great precision, in what circumstances they were made, and in what other circumstances they were taken away. There is no divinity in all this; and there is no need of any. The Author has however thought proper to add a little. These are his words: "God forbid that I should
 " here speak against celibacy, as adopted by
 " religion: but who can be silent, when this
 " is built on libertinism; when the two sexes
 " corrupting each other even by the natural
 " sensations themselves, fly from an union
 " which ought to render them better, to live
 " in that which always renders them worse.

" It is a rule drawn from nature, that the
 " more the number of marriages is diminished,
 " the more corrupt those are rendered that are

“ entered into that state. The fewer married people there are, the less fidelity is there in marriage; as, when there are more thieves, there are more thefts *.”

THE Author has not then disapproved the celibacy practised, on a religious motive; and no complaint can be raised against him for censuring the celibacy introduced by libertinism. He is offended, that a prodigious number of rich and voluptuous men fly the yoke of marriage, that they may the more conveniently pursue the gratification of their licentious appetites. They give themselves up to delight and voluptuous pleasure, and leave trouble and care to the miserable. We cannot, I say, complain that he has censured these. But the Critic, after having cited what the Author has said, pronounces these words: *We here perceive the malignity of the Author, who would throw upon the Christian religion the disorders it detests.* It might look ill-natured, were I to accuse the Critic of not being willing to understand the Author: I shall therefore only say, that he has not understood him; and that he has made him say against religion, what he said

* Book xiii. chap. 21.

against libertinism. He ought to be very sorry for it.

A particular ERROR committed by the CRITIC.

ONE would be ready to believe, that the Critic has sworn never to form a right judgment of the state of the question, and never to understand a single passage he attacks. The whole second chapter of the twenty fifth book turns upon the motives, more or less powerful, by which mankind are attached to the preservation of their religion. Here the Critic finds another chapter which contains the motives that oblige men to change their religion. The first subject implies a passive state; the second a state of action: but applying to one subject what the Author has said on the other, he indulges himself in false reasoning intirely at his ease.

THE Author has said, in the second chapter of the twenty fifth book, " We are extremely
" ly addicted to idolatry; and yet have no
" great inclination to the religion of idolaters.
" We are not very fond of spiritual ideas; and
" yet are most attached to those religions that
" teach us to adore a spiritual being. This
" proceeds

“ proceeds from the satisfaction we find in
 “ ourselves at having been so intelligent as to
 “ chuse a religion that raises the Deity from
 “ that baseness in which he had been placed
 “ by others.” The Author had certainly no
 other motive, than to explain why the Jews
 and Mahometans are as invincibly attached to
 their religion as we ourselves, tho’ they have
 not the advantages with which we are pos-
 sessed : and that they are, we know from ex-
 perience : but the Critic understands it other-
 wise : *Mens passing from idolatry to the belief of*
one God is here, says he, attributed to pride *.
 But no mention is made, either here, or thro’
 the whole chapter, of passing from one reli-
 gion to another : and if a Christian feels a
 high satisfaction, arising from the idea of the
 glory and grandeur of the Divine Majesty, and
 this is what he calls pride, it is a very good
 pride.

OF MARRIAGE.

HERE is another uncommon objection.
 The Author has two chapters in the twenty
 third book ; one intitled “ Of Men and Ani-
 mals with respect to the Propagation of their

* The second piece, pag. 166.

Species ;”

Species ;" and the other, " Of Marriage." In the first he has these words : " The females
 " of brutes have an almost constant fecundity ;
 " but, in the human species, the manner of
 " thinking, the character, the passions, the hu-
 " mour, the caprice, the idea of preserving
 " beauty, the pain of child-bearing, and the
 " fatigue of a too numerous family, obstruct
 " propagation a thousand different ways." And in the other he says, " The natural obli-
 " gation of the father to provide for his chil-
 " dren has established marriage ; which makes
 " known the person who ought to fulfil this
 " obligation."

UPON this the Critic says, *A Christian would refer the institution of marriage to God himself, who gave a companion to Adam, and united the first man to the first woman by an indissoluble bond, before they had children to provide for : but the Author avoids whatever is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures.* He might reply, that he is a Christian ; but not a natural ; that he venerates these truths ; but did not chuse to insert at random, and without propriety, all the truths that are the objects of his faith. The Emperor Justinian was a Christian, as was also his compiler : yet in their books
 of

of Laws, which are still taught to youth in the schools, they define marriage, the union of one man and woman, who form a society of individual life *. It never entered into the head of any person, to reproach them for not having here mentioned revelation.

OF U S U R Y.

WE are now come to the subject of usury. I am afraid the reader will be tired with hearing me repeat, that the Critic never understands the point in question, and never takes the sense of the passages he censures. He says, that *here the Author finds nothing unjust in maritime usury: these are his words.* Indeed The Spirit of Laws has a very sad interpreter. The Author has treated of maritime usury in the twentieth chapter of the twenty second book: he must therefore have said in that chapter, that maritime usury is just. Let us see what he says.

“ Of Maritime Usury.

“ THE greatness of maritime usury is
“ founded on two things: the danger of the

* Maris & foeminæ conjunctio, individuum vitæ societatem continens.

“ sea,

“ sea, which makes it proper that those who
 “ expose their specie, should not do it without
 “ considerable advantage; and the ease with
 “ which the borrower, by the means of com-
 “ merce, speedily accomplishes a variety of
 “ great affairs. But usury, with respect to
 “ landfmen, being founded on neither of these
 “ two reasons, is either prohibited by the legis-
 “ lators, or, what is more rational, reduced to
 “ proper bounds.”

I ASK every sensible man, whether the Author has here determined that maritime usury is just; or whether he has simply said, that the greatness of maritime usury is less repugnant to natural equity, than the greatness of Usury at land. The Critic is acquainted with none but positive and absolute qualities, and does not know the meaning of those terms, *more* or *less*. If one was to tell him that a mulatto woman was not so black as a negro, this would signify, according to him, that she is as white as snow: if one was to tell him that she was blacker than an European, he would then think she was as black as a coal. But to proceed.

IN the twenty second book of The Spirit of Laws there are four chapters on usury. In the

the two first, which are the nineteenth, and that the reader has just perused, the Author examines usury * in the relation it bears to the commerce of different nations, and the several governments of the world ; and to this these two chapters solely relate. The two following only explain the variations of usury among the Romans. But here the Author is suddenly raised to be a casuist, a canonist, and divine ; for no other reason but because the Critic is a casuist, a canonist, and divine, or that he is two of the three, or one of the three, or, perhaps at bottom, none of the three. The Author is sensible, that the consideration of lending at interest, as connected with Christianity, is a subject attended with endless distinctions and limitations. He is sensible that the civilians, and a multitude of courts of justice, do not always agree with the casuists and canonists ; that some of these admit certain limitations of the general principle of never asking interest, and others admit still greater. Though all these questions had belonged to his subject, which they do not, how would he have been able to have treated of them ? We find it difficult to know thorough-

* Usury and interest among the Romans signified the same thing.

ly what we have well studied ; but much more difficult is it to know what we have never studied at all. However, those very chapters that are employed against him, sufficiently prove, that he is only an historian and civilian. Let us read chap. 19 *.

“ SPECIE is the sign of value. It is evident,
 “ that he who has occasion for this sign ought
 “ to pay for the use of it, as well as for every
 “ thing else that he has occasion for. All the
 “ difference is, that other things may be either
 “ hired or bought ; whilst money, which is
 “ the price of things, can only be hired, and
 “ not bought.

“ To lend money without interest, is cer-
 “ tainly an action laudable and extremely
 “ good ; but this is perhaps only a counsel of
 “ religion, and not a civil law.

“ In order that trade may be successfully
 “ carried on, it is necessary that a price be fixed
 “ on the use of specie ; but this price should
 “ be very inconsiderable. If it be too high,
 “ the merchant, who finds that it will cost
 “ him more in interest than he can gain by

* Book xxii.

“ commerce,

“commerce, will undertake nothing. If
 “there is no consideration to be paid for the
 “use of specie, no body will lend it; and
 “here too the merchant will undertake no-
 “thing.

“I AM mistaken when I say that no body
 “will lend; the affairs of society must ever
 “make it necessary. Usury will be establish-
 “ed, but with all the disorders with which it
 “has been constantly attended.

“THE LAWS of Mahomet confound usury
 “with lending upon interest. Usury increas-
 “es in Mahometan countries, in proportion to
 “the severity of the prohibition. The lender
 “indemnifies himself for the danger he under-
 “goes of suffering the penalty.

“IN those eastern countries the greatest
 “part of the people are secure of nothing.
 “There is hardly any connexion between the
 “actual possession of a sum, and the hope of
 “receiving it again after having lent it. Usu-
 “ry then must be raised in proportion to the
 “danger of insolvency.”

AFTER-

AFTERWARDS comes the chapter on maritime usury mentioned above; and the twenty first chapter, which treats of lending by contract, and of usury amongst the Romans, which is as follows:

“ BESIDES the loans made for the advantage of commerce, there is still a kind of lending by a civil contract, from whence results interest or usury.

“ As the people of Rome daily increased in power, the magistrates sought to insinuate themselves into their favour by enacting such Laws as were most agreeable to them. They retrenched capitals; first lowered, and at length prohibited interest; and took away the power of confining the debtor's body. In fine, the abolition of debts was contended for, whenever a tribune was disposed to render himself popular.

“ THESE continual changes, whether made by the Laws, or by the *plebiscita*, naturalized usury at Rome: for the creditors fearing the people their debtor, their legislator, and their judge, had no longer any confidence

“ dence in agreements with them. The peo-
 “ ple, like a debtor who has lost his credit
 “ could only tempt them to lend by allowing
 “ an exorbitant interest ; for if the Laws did
 “ not from time to time remedy the evil, the
 “ complaints of the people became continual,
 “ and constantly intimidated the creditors.
 “ This was the cause that all honest means of
 “ borrowing and lending were abolished at
 “ Rome, and that the most monstrous usury,
 “ constantly blasted by the thunders of the
 “ state, and constantly revived, became esta-
 “ blished in that city.

“ CICERO tells us, that in his time interest
 “ at Rome was at thirty four *per cent.* and in
 “ the provinces at forty eight. This evil was
 “ a consequence of the severity of the Laws
 “ against usury. Laws excessively good are
 “ the source of excessive evil. The borrower
 “ found himself under the necessity of paying
 “ for the interest of the money, and for the
 “ danger the creditor underwent of suffering
 “ the penalty of the Law.”

THE Author has then treated of interest
 only in relation to the commerce of various
 nations, and to the civil Laws of the Romans ;
 and

and this is so true, that he has distinguished, in the second paragraph of the nineteenth chapter, the establishments of the religious, from those of the political legislators. Had he mentioned by name the Christian religion, he would have treated the subject in other terms, and have pointed out what that religion ordains, and what it counsels; he would, with the divines, have distinguished the several cases; he would have laid down all the limitations set by the Christian religion to that general Law, sometimes established among the Romans, and always among the Mahometans, That we ought, in no case, and in no circumstance, to receive interest for money. The Author had not this subject to treat of; but that a general, unlimited, indistinct defence of it, without any restrictions, made the Mahometans lose their commerce, and was near destroying the Roman republic: whence it follows, that the Christians, on account of their not living under these rigid Laws, still enjoy their commerce, and there is not found in their states that monstrous usury required by the Mahometans, and that was formerly extorted by the Romans.

THE Author has employed the twenty first and twenty second chapters * in examining what were the Laws of the Romans on the subject of lending by contracts, in the different times of their republic. But here his Critic quits for a moment the banks of theology, to turn to the side of erudition. But we shall soon see, that he is also deceived in his erudition, and that he cannot even for once understand the state of the question he endeavours to examine. Let us read a passage in the twenty second chapter †.

“ TACITUS says, that the Law of the Twelve
 “ Tables fixed the interest at one *per cent. per*
 “ *annum*. It is evident that he was mistaken,
 “ and that he took another Law, of which I
 “ am going to speak, for the Law of the
 “ Twelve Tables. If this had been regulated
 “ in the Law of the Twelve Tables, why did
 “ they not make use of its authority in the
 “ disputes which afterwards arose between the
 “ creditors and debtors? We find not any
 “ vestige of this Law upon lending at interest;
 “ and, let us have but ever so little knowledge
 “ of the history of Rome, we shall see that a

* Book xxii.

† Ibid.

“ Law

“ Law like this could never be the work of the
 “ Decemvirs.” And a little after the Author
 adds : “ In the year of Rome 398, the Tri-
 “ bunes Duellius and Menenius caused a Law
 “ to be passed, which reduced interest to
 “ one *per cent. per annum*. 'Tis this Law
 “ which Tacitus confounds with the Law of
 “ the Twelve Tables ; and this was the first
 “ ever made by the Romans to fix the rate of
 “ interest,” &c.

HERE the Author says, that Tacitus is mis-
 taken in saying that the Law of the Twelve
 Tables had fixed the rate of interest among the
 Romans. He has said, that Tacitus has taken
 for the Law of the Twelve Tables, a Law
 made by Duellius and Menenius about eighty
 five years after the Law of the Twelve Tables ;
 and that this Law was the first that fixed the
 rate of interest at Rome. What does the Cri-
 tic say to this ? He replies, that Tacitus was
 not mistaken, but spoke of usury at one *per*
cent. per mensem, and not of usury at one *per*
cent. per annum. But the question is not here of
 the rate of usury ; it is to know, whether the
 Law of the Twelve Tables has made any re-
 gulation whatsoever in relation to usury. The
 Author says, that Tacitus is mistaken in saying

that the Decemvirs had made a regulation in the Law of the Twelve Tables, to fix the rate of usury; and upon this the Critic says, he was not mistaken, because he spoke of usury at one *per cent.* by the month, and not at one *per cent.* for a year. I had reason then for saying that the Critic did not know the state of the question.

It now remains to inquire, whether the Law mentioned by Tacitus, whatever it is, fixes usury, according to the Author, at one *per cent.* by the year, or, according to the Critic, at one *per cent.* for the month. Prudence required that he should not enter into a dispute with the Author on the Roman Laws, without knowing them; that he should not deny a fact with which he was unacquainted, and of which he was ignorant of the means of obtaining information. The question is, what Tacitus meant by these words, *unciarium fœnus* *. He needed but to have opened the dictionaries, and he would have found in that of Calvinus or Kahl †, that it was one *per cent.* by

* Nam primò duodecim tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario fœnore ampliùs exerceret. *Annal. lib. vi.*

† Usurarum species ex assis partibus denominantur: quod ut intelligatur, illud scire oportet, sortem omnem ad cente

by the year, and not by the month. Had he consulted the learned Salmasius, he would have told him the same thing †.

*Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum.*

HOR.

Had he ascended to the source, he would have found clear texts on this subject in books of Law ||: he would not have blended different

centenarium numerum revocari; summam autem usuram esse, cum pars fortis centesima singulis mensibus persolvitur. Et quoniam istâ ratione summa hæc usura duodecim aureos annuos in centenos efficit, duodenarius numerus jurisconsultos movit, ut assem hunc usurarium appellarent. Quemadmodum hic as non ex menstruâ, sed ex annuâ pensione æstimandus est; similiter omnes ejus partes ex anni ratione intelligendæ sunt: ut si unus in centenos annuatim pendatur, unciaria usura; si bini, sextans; si terni, quadrans; si quaterni, triens; si quini, quincunx; si seni, semis; si septeni, septunx; si octoni, bes; si novem, dodrans; si deni, dextrans; si undeni, deunx; si duodeni, as. *Lexicon J. Calvini. Coloniae Allobrogum, anno 1622, apud Petrum Balduinum, in verbo Usura, p. 960.*

† *De modo usurarum, Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriorum, anno 1639. p. 269, 270, & 271; particularly these words, Undè verius sit unciarium scenus eorum, vel uncias usuras, ut eas quoque appellatas infrâ ostendam, non unciam dare menstruam in centum, sed annum.*

|| *Argumentum legis xlvii. §. Præfectus legionis ff. de administratione & periculo tutoris.*

ideas; he would have distinguished the times and occasions when the *unciarium fœnus* signified one *per cent.* by the month, from those when it signified one *per cent.* by the year; and he would not have taken the twelfth of the hundredth part for the hundredth part itself.

WHILE the Romans had no Laws that fixed the rate of usury, the most common custom was for the usurer to take twelve ounces of copper for the loan of an hundred ounces; that is, twelve *per cent. per annum*; and an *as* being of the value of twelve ounces of copper, the usurer received annually an *as* for an hundred ounces. It being frequently necessary to reckon usury by the month, the interest for six months was called *semis*, or the half of the *as*; the usury for four months was named *triens*, or the third of the *as*; the usury for three months was called *quadrans*, or the fourth of the *as*; and, in short, the usury for one month was called *unciaria*, or the twelfth of the *as*: so that as they raised an ounce every month on every hundred ounces lent, this usury by the ounce, or one *per cent. per mensem*, was called centesimal usury. The Critic had acquired
the

the knowledge of this signification of the centesimal usury, but has applied it very ill.

WE see, that all this was nothing more than a method or form of regulating the accounts between debtor and creditor in relation to usury, on a supposition that it was at twelve *per cent. per annum*, which was the common and usual rate; but if a person borrowed at eighteen *per cent. per annum*, they made use of the same method, only increasing one third of the interest for each month; so that the *unciarium fœnus* was then an ounce and a half *per month*.

WHEN the Romans made Laws on usury, they did not concern themselves about this method, which had been used, and was so still, between the debtors and creditors, for the division of the time, and the convenience of paying their interest. The legislator had a public regulation to make; the business here was not to divide usury by the month, but to fix it; and this was done by the year. They, however, continued to make use of the terms derived from the division of the *as*, without applying the same ideas to them. Thus the *unciarium fœnus* signified one *per cent. per annum*;

num; the usury *ex quadrante* signified three *per cent. per annum*; the usury *ex triente*, four *per cent. per annum*; the usury *semis*, six *per cent. per annum*. And if the usury *unciaria* had signified one *per cent. per mensem*, the Law which fixed the *ex quadrante*, *ex triente*, *ex semisse*, would have established usury at three *per cent.* at four *per cent.* at six *per cent.* by the month; which would have been absurd, because the Laws made to suppress usury would have been more cruel than the usurers.

THE Critic has then confounded the species of things. But I ought here to give his very words, in order that the reader may be fully convinced, that the confidence with which he writes ought not to impose on any one. *Tacitus*, says he *, is not mistaken; he speaks of interest at one *per cent.* by the month, and the Author has imagined that he speaks of one *per cent. per annum*. Every body knows, that the hundredth part was paid to the usurer every month. Ought a man, who has written two quarto volumes on the Laws, to be ignorant of this?

WHETHER this man was, or was not ignorant of the *centesimal*, is of no consequence:

* The piece of the 9th of October 1749, p. 164.

but

but he was not ignorant of it, since he has mentioned it in three places. But how has he mentioned it, and where has he spoken of it †? I may defy the Critic to guess, as he cannot find the words and expressions he is acquainted with.

THE question here is not, whether the Author is, or is not a man of learning, but to defend his altars ‡. However, it was necessary to shew the public, that the Critic has assumed so decisive a tone on things about which he was intirely ignorant, and had so little doubt that he did not even open a dictionary to confirm his opinion; that, tho' ignorant himself, he accuses others of not having his own errors, and therefore can no longer merit the least confidence with respect to his other accusations. Would not one have been apt to believe, that the haughty and insolent manner he assumes must have proceeded from his never being in the wrong? that when he chafes and blusters, this is a proof of his not being in an error? that when he anathematizes the Author with his phrases of impious mortal, and follower of natural religion, we may still be-

† The third and last note of book xxii. chap. 22. and the last of the third note.

‡ Pro aris.

lieve that he is not mistaken? Who would have thought that it is necessary to keep a guard over ourselves, to prevent our receiving those impressions that put his spirits in motion, and give impetuosity to his style? that in his two pieces it is highly proper to separate his reasons from his abuse, and that afterwards, setting aside those reasons that are bad, nothing will remain?

THE Author, in the chapters on lending at interest, and of usury among the Romans; a subject doubtless the most important in their history, since it is so closely connected with the constitution of Rome, that a thousand times it was near subverting it; after treating of the Laws they made from despair; of those dictated by prudence; of such regulations as were only temporary; and of those that were designed to last for ever, says at the end of the twenty-second chapter, "In the year of Rome 398, the tribunes Duellius and Menenius caused a Law to be passed, which reduced interest to one *per cent. per annum*.—Ten years after this usury was reduced one half, and in the end it was intirely abolished.

4

" IT

" IT fared with this Law as with all those in
 " which the legislator carries things to excess ;
 " an infinite number of ways were found to
 " elude it. They enacted, therefore, many
 " others to confirm, correct, and temper it.
 " Sometimes they quitted the Laws, to follow
 " the common practice, at others, the com-
 " mon practice to follow the Laws ; but in
 " this case custom easily prevailed. When a
 " man wanted to borrow, he found an ob-
 " stacle in the very Law made in his favour ;
 " this Law must be evaded by the person it
 " was made to succour, and by him it was
 " made to condemn. Sempronius Asellus the
 " Prætor, having permitted the debtors to act
 " in conformity to the Laws, was slain by the
 " creditors, for attempting to revive the me-
 " mory of a severity that could no longer be
 " supported.

" UNDER Sylla, Lucius Valerius Flaccus
 " made a Law which suffered interest to be at
 " three *per cent. per annum*. This Law, the
 " most moderate, the most equitable ever made
 " on this account by the Romans, is disap-
 " proved by Paterculus. But if this Law was
 " necessary for the advantage of the republic,
 " if

“ if it was of service to every individual, if it
 “ formed an easy communication between the
 “ debtor and creditor, it could not be unjust.

“ He pays least, says Ulpian, who pays
 “ latest. This decides the question, whe-
 “ ther interest be lawful, that is, whether
 “ the creditor can sell time, and the debtor
 “ buy it.”

LET us see how the Critic reasons on this last passage, which refers only to the Law of Flaccus, and to the political dispositions of the Romans. The Author, says he, on resuming all he had said on usury, maintains that a creditor is permitted to sell time. The Critic here seems to insinuate, that the Author had been writing a treatise on theology, or Canon Law, and that he had at length resumed it; tho' it is evident that he is only treating of the political regulations of the Romans; of a Law of Flaccus, and the opinion of Paterculus: so that this Law of Flaccus, Paterculus's opinion, the reflexion of Ulpian, and that of the Author, are closely connected, and cannot be separated from each other.

I HAVE

I HAVE still many things to say; but I chuse rather to refer the reader to the pieces themselves. *Believe me, my dear Piso, they have formed a work which, like the dreams of the sick, exhibit nothing but vain phantoms*.*

* Credite, Pisones, isti tabulæ fore librum
Perfimilem, cujus, velut ægri somnia, vanæ
Fingentur species.

HORAT. *de Arte Poetica.*

A
D E F E N C E

O F

The S P I R I T of L A W S.

P A R T III.

WE have seen in the two first parts, all that results from so many bitter criticisms is, That the Author of The Spirit of Laws has not performed his work according to the plan and views of his Critics; and that if his Critics had wrote a work on the same subject, they would have thrown in a great many things which they know. It also follows from thence, that they are divines, and that the Author is a civilian; that they think themselves qualified to do his business, and that he has not the presumption to believe himself fit for theirs. In fine, it follows from thence, that, instead of attacking him with
such

such acrimony, they had better have made themselves sensible of the value of what he has said in favour of religion, which he has with equal ardour respected and defended. I shall now make some reflexions.

THAT manner of reasoning is not good, which, being employed against any good book whatsoever, may make it appear as bad as any bad book whatsoever; and which, being used against any bad book whatsoever, may make it appear as good as any good book whatsoever.

THAT manner of reasoning is not just which, to the subject in debate, calls in others that have no relation to it, and confounds the several sciences, and the ideas belonging to each.

WE ought not to dispute, on a work wrote on any of the sciences, with reasons that may attack the science itself.

WHEN a person writes a criticism on a work, and on a work of considerable extent and importance, he ought to endeavour to procure a particular knowledge of the science which is the subject of that work, and carefully to read the approved authors who have
already

already wrote upon it; in order to see, whether the Author has deviated from the usual received manner of treating the subject.

WHEN an Author explains himself by word of mouth, or by his writings, which are the images of those words, it is contrary to reason to quit the exterior signs of his thoughts, to run in search of his thoughts themselves; because none but himself is capable of knowing his thoughts. It is much worse, when his thoughts are good, and bad ones are attributed to him.

WHEN a person writes against an Author, and becomes exasperated against him, he ought to prove the character he gives him by what he says, and not what he says by the character he gives him.

WHEN we see that an author's intention is in general good, we shall be seldomer mistaken if, in certain places which we think equivocal, we judge according to the general intention, than if we allow him a particular bad intention.

IN books wrote for amusement, three or four pages give an idea of the style, and the charms

charms of the work: but, in books of reasoning, we retain nothing if we do not retain the whole chain.

As it is very difficult to write a good work, and very easy to write a critic upon it, because the Author has all his defiles to guard, and the Critic has only one of them to force; the latter ought not to fail: but if it happens that he has continually failed, he must be inexcusable.

BESIDES, as the Critic may be chargeable with an ostentation of his superiority over others, and as the usual effect of the criticism is giving some delicious moments to human pride; those who give themselves up to it deserve to be treated with strict justice, but very seldom with indulgence.

AND as, of all the different kinds of writing, it is that in which it is most difficult to shew a good temper, we ought to take care not to increase, by the bitterness of words, this unhappiness in the subject.

WHEN we write on grand and noble subjects, it is not sufficient for us to consult our
Y : zeal ;

zeal; we ought also to consult our abilities, and if heaven has not blessed us with great talents, we may supply the want of them by distrust of ourselves, exactness, labour, and reflexion.

THE art of finding, in what has naturally a good sense, all the bad senses which a person by false reasoning is capable of giving it, is of no use to mankind; and those who practise it are like the ravens that fly from living bodies, and hover on all sides in search of carcases.

A LIKE manner of criticizing produces two grand inconveniences. The first is, That it hurts the mind of the reader, by exhibiting a mixture of truth and falsehood, of good and evil: he is accustomed to seek for a bad sense in things that have naturally a good one; whence he is easily led to the disposition of searching for a good sense in things that have naturally a bad one: it thus makes him lose the faculty of reasoning justly, and throws him into all the subtilties of a false logic. The second inconvenience is, That, in rendering, by this manner of reasoning, good books suspected, we have no arms left with which we can attack those that are bad: so that the public

lic has no rule whereby to distinguish them. If those are treated as Spinofists and Deists who are not, what shall be said to those who are ?

THOUGH we ought readily to think, that those who write against us on subjects in which all mankind are interested, are prompted to do this only by the impulses of christian charity ; yet, as it is the nature of that virtue rarely to conceal itself, as it will shine in spite of ourselves, and sparkle and blaze on all sides, if it happens that, in two pieces wrote one after another against the same person, no trace can be found of that amiable virtue, that it does not appear in any phrase, in any turn, in any word, or expression, he who has written such works must have just cause to fear that he was not led to it by christian charity.

AND as virtues merely human are, in us, the effect of what is called a good disposition ; if it be impossible to discover any vestige of this good disposition, the public may conclude from thence, that these pieces are not even the effect of the human virtues.

IN the judgment of mankind, it is easier to see the actions, than to be convinced of the sincerity of the motives; and it is more easy to believe, that the action of uttering atrocious abuse is an evil, than it is to be persuaded, that the motive which prompted to it is good.

WHEN a man is fixed in a state intended to render religion respected, and which religion itself renders respectable, and attacks before the men of the world one of that body, it is essentially necessary that he should maintain, by his manner of acting, the superiority of his character. The world is very corrupt: but there are certain passions found there that are kept under great restraint; because there are others more favoured that forbid their appearance. Consider the men of the world in their behaviour to each other; there is nothing so timid; pride durst not reveal its secrets, and, in the regard it has for others, it quits itself only to gain new strength. Christianity gives us the habit of subduing this pride; the world gives us the habit of concealing it. With the little virtue we have, what would become of us, if our whole souls were set at liberty, and if we were not attentive to the least word, to
the

the least signs, the least gestures? Now when men, venerable and respectable by their characters, shew passions which the men of the world durst not suffer to break out to public view, these begin to think themselves better than they really are ; and this is a great evil.

WE men of the world are also so weak, that we ought to be treated with the utmost care and precaution. Therefore when a priest lets us see all the external marks of violent passions, what would he have us think of what passes within his breast? Can he hope that we, rash as we are in judging, will not judge accordingly?

IT is observable that, in the conversations and disputes of men of a harsh and obstinate temper, as they strive not to inform and assist each other, but to obtain a victory, they fly from truth, not in proportion to the greatness or littleness of their minds, but according to the greater or less caprice and inflexibility of their dispositions. The contrary happens to those to whom nature or education has given candour and ingenuity. As their disputes are mutual succours, they have the same object in view ; they think differently only that they

may think alike, and find and acknowledge the force of truth in proportion to the strength of evidence: this is the reward of a good disposition.

WHEN a man writes on religious subjects, he ought not to depend so much on the credulity of those who read, as to say things contrary to good sense; because, by increasing his credit with those who have more piety than understanding, he loses his credit with others who have more understanding than piety.

AND as religion best defends itself, it suffers greater prejudice by being badly defended, than if it was not defended at all.

IF it should happen that a man, after having lost his readers, should attack a person of some reputation, and thus obtain the means of being read; one might suspect that, under the pretence of sacrificing this victim to religion, he sacrificed him to his own self-love.

THE manner of criticising of which we are treating, is the only thing in the world most capable of limiting the extent, and diminishing, if I may use the term, the sum total of national
8
genius.

genius. Theology has its bounds and its forms; because, the truths it teaches being known, men are not allowed to deviate from them. Here then genius cannot take her flight, she being in a manner circumscribed in a circle. But, to pretend to place the same inclosure about those who treat of human sciences, is mocking the world. The principles of geometry are very true; but if we apply them to things of taste, we shall make reason itself talk unreasonably. Nothing stifles knowledge more, than covering every thing with a doctor's robe; and the men who would be for ever teaching, are great hindrances to learning. There is no genius that is not contracted by being enveloped by a million of vain scruples. Have you the best intention in the world, they will force you yourself to doubt of it. You can no longer employ your endeavour to speak or write with propriety, when you are perplexed with the fear of expressing yourself ill; and when, instead of pursuing your thought, you are only busied about chusing such terms as may escape the subtilty of the critics. They come to put a biggin on your head, each saying at every word, Take care of falling; you would speak like yourself, but I would have you speak like me. Do

you endeavour to soar aloft? they stop you by pulling your sleeve. Have you life and strength? they deprive you of it in an instant. Do you rise a little? they take their rule, and, lifting up their heads, call you to come down that they may measure you. Do you run your course? they would have you examine all the stones the ants have thrown up in your way. No science nor literature is proof against this pedantry. The present age has formed academies; but they would make us re-enter the schools of the darker ages. Descartes, however, may give assurance to those who, with a genius infinitely beneath his, have the same good intentions. That great man was incessantly charged with atheism; and yet there are not now employed against the Atheists stronger arguments than his.

WE ought to regard criticisms as personal only, in the cases where those who made them have been willing to render them so. It is certainly very allowable to criticize the works presented to the public; because it would be ridiculous for those who are willing to enlighten others, to be averse to be enlightened themselves. Those who give us information are the companions of our labours. If the

Critic

Critic and the Author are both in search of truth, they have the same interest; for truth is a blessing designed for all mankind: they are then confederates, and not enemies,

It is with great pleasure that I now lay down the pen. I should have continued to have kept silence, if, in keeping it, many persons had not concluded that I had been reduced to it.

I

SOME persons have made this objection: In The Spirit of Laws, Honour or Liberty, not virtue is represented as the principle upon which certain governments are founded, and virtue is represented as the principle of only a few others: whence it follows, that the Christian virtues are not required in most governments.

To this it is answered, that the Author has placed this note in the fifth chapter of the third book: "I speak here of political virtue, which is a moral virtue as directed to the general advantage; very little of private morality and not at all of that virtue which has a relation to revealed truths." In the following

S O M E
E X P L A N A T I O N S
O F
The SPIRIT of LAWS.



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following chapter is another note that refers to this, and to the second and third chapters of the fifth book. This virtue the Author has defined *the love of our country*; and the love of our country he has defined *the love of equality and frugality*. The whole fifth book rests on these principles. When a writer has defined a word in his work, when he has given, if I may use the expression, his dictionary, ought not his words to be understood according to the signification he has given them?

THE word virtue, like most of the words in all languages, is taken in several acceptations: sometimes it signifies the christian virtues; sometimes the pagan virtues; and often, a certain christian virtue, or a particular pagan virtue; it likewise sometimes signifies fortitude; and in some languages it means a certain capacity for an art, or for certain arts. It is what precedes, or what follows the word, that fixes its signification: but here the Author has done more—he has several times given his definition. This objection has therefore been only made on account of the work being read with too much rapidity.

II. THE



II.

THE Author has said in the third chapter of the second book, "The best aristocracy is that in which the part of the people who have no share in the legislature is so small and inconsiderable, that the governing party have no interest in oppressing them. Thus, when Antipater made a Law at Athens, that whosoever was not worth two thousand drachms should be excluded from the right of suffrage*, he formed by this means the best aristocracy possible; because this was so small a sum, that it excluded very few, and not one of any rank or consideration in the city. Aristocratical families ought therefore, as much as possible, to level themselves in appearance with the people. The more an aristocracy borders on democracy, the nearer it approaches to perfection; and it is the more imperfect, in proportion as it draws towards monarchy."

IN a letter inserted in the *Journal de Travaux* for the month of April 1749, this quo-

* Diodorus, lib. xviii. p. 601. Rhodoman's edition.

tation is objected against the Author. The writer says, that he has open before him the place quoted, and there finds, that there were only nine thousand persons who had the sum prescribed by Antipater; and that there were twenty two thousand who wanted it: whence it is concluded that the Author has misapplied his quotations, the small number having the sum required, and the large number being excluded for the want of it,

A N S W E R.

IT were to be wished, that he who has made this critical remark had paid greater attention to what both the Author and Diodorus have said.

1. THERE were not twenty two thousand who wanted this sum in Antipater's republic. The twenty two thousand persons mentioned by Diodorus were sent away and established in Thrace; and there only remained to form this republic, the nine thousand citizens who had the sum, and those of the lower people who would not set out for Thrace. The reader may consult Diodorus.

2. THO'

2. Tho' there had remained twenty two thousand persons at Athens, who wanted the above sum, the objection would not be the less unjust. The words *great* and *small* are relative. Nine thousand Sovereigns in a state are an immense number; and twenty two thousand subjects in the same state, is a number extremely small.



F I N I S.

